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CHARLES S. DENEEN

1863-1940

BY ROY O. WEST AND WILLIAM C. WALTON

I. HIS POLITICAL CAREER

CHARLES Samuel Deneen was born May 4, 1863, at Edwardsville, Madison County, Illinois. His great-grandfather, Risdon Moore, a native of Delaware, came to St. Clair County, Illinois, from Georgia in 1812. He had been a soldier in the Revolutionary War. He was Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Illinois Territorial Legislature in 1814 and was a member of the first, second and third legislatures of the State of Illinois. He was one of the most active in opposing the calling of a constitutional convention to change the Constitution and make Illinois a slave state. He was one of two signing a minority report, which opposed the call for such a convention and demanded total abolition of slavery. He was burned in effigy at Troy, Madison County, but in the following election was again chosen, after a bitter contest, as a free state member of the Legislature.

Mr. Deneen's grandfather, William L. Deneen, came to Illinois from Pennsylvania in 1828 and for nineteen years was a Methodist minister in southern Illinois. Because of ill health he abandoned the ministry and devoted himself to surveying land. He was county

surveyor of St. Clair County from 1849 to 1851 and again from 1853 to 1855. Mr. Deneen's father, Samuel H. Deneen, was born near Belleville, St. Clair County, in 1835. He was graduated from McKendree College, and afterward served as professor of Latin and Ancient and Medieval History for thirty years. He was Adjutant of the 117th Illinois Volunteers during the Civil War and was United States Consul at Belleville, Ontario, under President Harrison.

Charles S. Deneen was also graduated from McKendree. He became a trustee of the college and represented the fourth generation of his family to be connected with that institution, the oldest Methodist college west of the Allegheny Mountains. True to his ancestry, he was a loyal and consistent Methodist. He was buried from the Englewood Methodist Church on February 8, 1940.

It is worthy of note that Charles S. Deneen was one of the nine Illinois governors who resided in Madison County, Illinois. Only last Christmas he sent some of his friends autographed group photographs showing pictures of those governors. In 1892 he was elected a member of the Illinois General Assembly. He served in 1895 as attorney for the board of trustees of the Sanitary District of Chicago. In 1896 he was elected state's attorney of Cook County and was re-elected in 1900. In 1896, upon entering on the duties of state's attorney, he said:

I mean that the state's attorney's office shall be conducted according to the law. The indicted man against whom there is sufficient evidence to warrant a belief in his guilt under the law, will be tried no matter what his social position, religion, politics or color. If under suspicious circumstances the jury disagrees he will be tried again as quickly as possible. The office will not be used as

a cloak to enable dishonest grand jurors to blackmail citizens or criminals. The criminal with influence and friends will be prosecuted with greater vigor than the one who is penniless and friendless. The *nolle prosequi* will not be used for building up political influence or for favoring friends at the expense of justice, and will be entered in open court and with a full statement before everybody of the reason therefor. The worthless professional bondsman and the straw-bailer will be promptly prosecuted. This is the way in which I hope to conduct this office, which should represent fairness, justice, honesty and mercy in all its transactions.

In the prosecution of cases in the criminal courts of Cook County, he persistently followed indictments to a conclusion. If convinced that a defendant was guilty, a jury disagreement or acquittal did not deter State's Attorney Deneen. He promptly tried the case again if there had been a disagreement, or, if the defendant was acquitted and indictment for another offense was pending, the defendant again was brought to trial.

Mr. Deneen's faithful and successful administration as a public prosecutor elicited attention and approval throughout the nation and in 1904 he was elected Governor of the State of Illinois, in which office he served for eight years. On February 3, 1912, at a convention of the Republican Party of Cook County, Illinois, when Governor Deneen was a candidate for renomination for a third term as Governor, President Henry Pratt Judson of the University of Chicago, as chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, offered the following resolution, which was adopted by acclamation:

The administration of Governor Charles S. Deneen has been such as to command and deserve the confidence of the citizens of Illinois. It has been characterized by the absolute honesty and great efficiency and economy with which it has administered the public institutions and departments under its supervision and by the progressive char-

acter of the legislation which it has placed upon our statute books.

To his administration our State is indebted for the passage of a state-wide primary election law and of a state-wide civil service law.

For the revision of the insurance laws of the State.

For the enactment of laws relating to employment; protecting the health, comfort and safety of employes and improving the conditions of employment and the relations between employers and employes.

For the enactment of laws enlarging the powers of the State Railroad and Warehouse Commission over the rates and service of public service corporations.

For the introduction into the public service of sound business methods, such as the payment of interest on public funds into the public treasury, the introduction of uniform systems of bookkeeping and accounts into the State institutions and departments, and the institution and prosecution of the case against the Illinois Central Railroad Company on claims aggregating millions of dollars.

The administration is to be commended for the creation of the State Board of Administration and the improvement of service and great economies effected thereby in the administration of the State institutions.

For the revision of our antiquated school laws, and for the work done to secure the introduction into our school system of vocational courses of study.

For the splendid work done in the conservation of the State's resources.

For the revision of the State food law, bringing the Illinois law and the work of the State Food Commission into harmony with that of the National government.

For the enactment of the commission form of government law, and of the acts enlarging the powers of municipalities, such as the power to regulate rates for gas and electricity, and the power to construct, operate and maintain harbors; and for the laws abolishing the justice courts and establishing the municipal court of Chicago and replacing the old township organizations and independent taxing bodies by a consolidated municipal government for Chicago.

The administration is further to be commended for its advocacy of an anti-pass law, of the revision of the laws governing practice and procedure in our courts, and of the passage of a corrupt practice act and the revision of our general election laws so as to eliminate corruption from primary and general elections.

The work of the present State administration has placed Illinois

among the foremost of American states in progressive legislation and has brought the administration of all branches of the public service up to a high level of efficiency.

The administration is now in the midst of much important work for the promotion of the public welfare which should be steadily carried forward, and it is our belief that the recognized and demonstrated executive ability and experience of Governor Charles S. Deneen should commend itself to the voters of Illinois as fitting him best to carry this work to completion.

We therefore recommend and indorse his candidacy for renomination and pledge ourselves to support it in the forthcoming primary election, and, should he be nominated, to use all honorable means to secure his re-election by the voters of Illinois next November.

Governor Deneen was renominated by his party for Governor, but the nomination of a candidate for Governor by the Progressive Party divided the Republican vote. The result was the election of a Democrat, the first Democratic Governor of Illinois since Governor Altgeld. After his defeat, Mr. Deneen resumed the practice of law in Chicago.

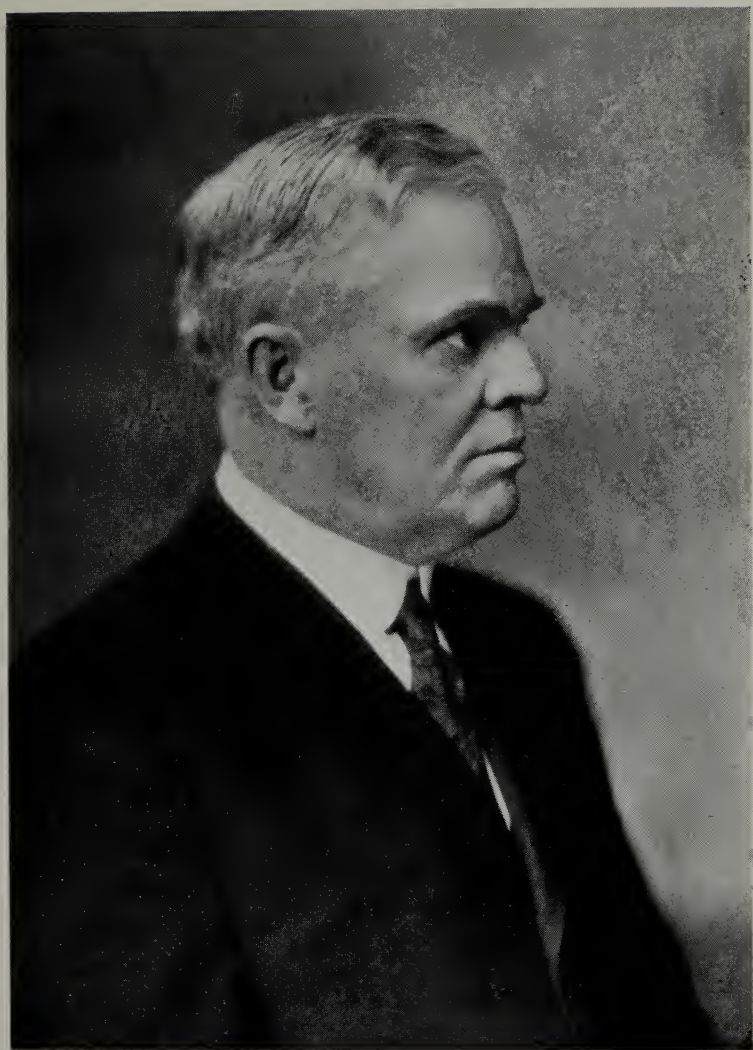
It will be conceded that the Deneen administration, when he was Governor, was forward looking and that the welfare of the whole people was first in official activities. No other state, at that time, was so far advanced in what is now called social welfare legislation.

It may be noted that, during Governor Deneen's terms of office, when the General Assembly declined to consider measures regarded by the Governor as meritorious, or defeated them, he usually appealed to the electorate throughout the state. For example, to obtain a valid primary election law, and to abolish "soap box" primaries in Illinois, the Governor stumped the state again and again, county after county, and ward after ward, and obtained the enactment by general

and special sessions of the General Assembly of four different primary election laws to replace laws the courts had nullified. The Supreme Court, in the case of *The People v. Charles S. Deneen*, 247 Ill. 289, declared the fourth enactment constitutional and at last we had a valid primary election law. It is still in force. When it is recalled that there are 102 counties in Illinois and that there were then thirty-five wards in Chicago, plus the suburban communities in Cook County, the extent of Governor Deneen's efforts for honest elections will be appreciated. On March 26, 1912, Governor Deneen convened the General Assembly in extraordinary session for consideration of a presidential preference primary law. Such a law was passed and became effective at the ensuing primaries of April 9, 1912. We voted under that statute at the latest primary election.

It is interesting to recall, too, that when Mr. Deneen became Governor, Illinois had practically no hard roads. During the greater part of each year, our highways were almost impassable. In 1905, he caused to be created a State Highway Commission. One hundred and nineteen and a half miles of experimental roads were constructed and thus was begun the hard roads program, for which Governor Deneen fought for eight years, although then earnestly opposed by many influential groups, who called public meetings and resolved against added taxes. Governor Deneen was a pioneer in the Middle West in the agitation for the construction of the excellent roads now traversing a state which had been deep in mud for many months of each year.

Governor Deneen carefully studied the topography of our state. He traveled up and down our waterways and, early in his administration, he fathered a move-



CHARLES S. DENEEN (1863-1940)

ment for the creation of a deep waterway from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. He gave exceptional attention to this undertaking while in the United States Senate. He lived to see shipments thereon, by regular schedule, of grain and other commodities.

Governor Deneen had more than ordinary interest in improvement of soil in different sections of our state. He caused soils to be analyzed and the information obtained to be made public. He arranged for the manufacture of limestone dust for acid soils at the Southern Illinois Penitentiary. He extended agricultural experiment stations. He secured large increases of appropriations for agricultural colleges. In 1905, through his efforts, the State Geological Survey was created to make exhaustive studies of our mineral resources. This included a study of our streams. Another purpose of the creation of the State Geological Survey was to study reclamation work. The Governor appointed Dr. Thomas C. Chamberlin, of the faculty of the University of Chicago, chairman of a commission to make a thorough study of the natural resources of Illinois. Dr. Chamberlin was the ranking geologist of America, if not of the world. The Governor conferred continually, too, with the faculty of the College of Agriculture of the University of Illinois.

In legislation affecting various classes of employment, Illinois took an advanced position during Governor Deneen's administration. The numerous laws enacted covered such subjects as the health, comfort and safety of men and women employed in different kinds of mercantile establishments, mills and workshops. They furnished additional protection to men engaged in structural work. They required better safeguarding

of hazardous and dangerous machinery and the use of safety devices in connection with machines employed in the metal polishing trades. Among the laws of this character enacted may be mentioned:

1905. The law requiring railroads to equip cars with automatic couplers;

The law amending the mining act by requiring mine examiners at all mines;

The law prohibiting the employment of boys under sixteen years of age and women and girls of any age in or about mines;

The act amending the code of signals in use at coal mines;

The act requiring the employment of shot firers in coal mines;

1907. The act increasing the indemnity for loss of life in mine accidents;

The act regulating the use of blasting powder;

The act amending the shot firers' law specifying their qualifications and rules for shot firing;

The act requiring employers to report accidents to employees to the State Bureau of Labor Statistics;

The act amending the mining law by requiring the construction of refuge places between the mine walls and car tracks;

The act creating the State Mining Board and providing for the examination of mine inspectors, mine managers, hoisting engineers and mine examiners, and regulating mine ventilation;

The act creating the Department of State Factory Inspection;

The act for the protection of men engaged in structural work;

1908. The act requiring the examination of coal miners to prevent employment of incompetent persons;
Amendment of the act creating the State Bureau of Labor Statistics and directing employers to furnish the bureau every facility for gathering statistics;

1909. The joint resolution providing for a railroad investigation commission;

The act providing for guarding and protecting employees using hazardous and dangerous machinery;

The act providing for examination of coal miners by miners' examining boards appointed by county judges;

The act providing for the establishment of the Department of Mining Engineering at the University of Illinois;

The act creating a Board of Barbers' Examiners;

The act directing the State Bureau of Labor Statistics to collect statistical data of manufactures, industries and commerce of the state;

The act providing for a mining investigation commission to revise coal mining laws of the state, recommend laws to promote the safety of men employed in mines, and suggest means for conservation of the coal deposits of the state;

The act requiring the issuance of certificates to men engaged in the plumbing business in certain cities;

The act specifying size and equipment of caboose cars on railroads, to be enforced by the Railroad and Warehouse Commission;

The act relating to private employment agencies;

The act providing for a ten-hour day for women in mechanical establishments, factories or laundries;

1910. The act providing for fire fighting and rescue

stations in coal fields;

The act providing for fire fighting equipment in coal mines;

1911. The act providing for a commission to revise the building laws;

The act providing for the establishment and maintenance of miners' and mechanics' institutes;

The act providing for employment on public works in cities and villages;

The act prohibiting certain employments in basements;

The act relating to oil and gas wells in the vicinity of coal mines;

The workmen's compensation act providing compensation for accidental injury or death;

The act to afford protection against occupational diseases;

The act providing for a ten-hour workday for women.

During Governor Deneen's tenure, the Commissioners of the west Chicago parks were appointed by the Governor. Those parks were "run down;" even their financial condition was questioned. Governor Deneen, when a young man, taught night school in the congested district of the west side, and he knew the needs of that large area for playgrounds and breathing places. So interested was he that he sought the best available civic leader to rehabilitate the parks. Colonel Bernard A. Eckhart, capitalist, mill owner, banker, patron of education and art, patriotic and loyal citizen, whose name and fortune were identified with Chicago, readily consented to give time and thought to rebuilding the west Chicago parks. The work was done so successfully that a later Board of Commissioners, some time

after Colonel Eckhart's retirement, named one of its parks Eckhart Park.

Notwithstanding all the foregoing changes and improvements in laws and administration by Governor Deneen, his economies resulted in the lowest Illinois state tax rate of that generation.

In 1912, when Governor Deneen was campaigning for re-election, the legislative jackpotters and political opponents attacked him because he had not prevented "jackpotism." I quote from an editorial in the *Chicago Daily Tribune* of September 23, 1912, referring to those charges:

If Mr. Deneen needed a clean bill of health on this score it would be presented to him by the fact that every man jack whose name in any way was connected with any disclosure of corruption at Springfield was his political and personal enemy and was his political and personal enemy because the governor had interfered with the political and personal schemes to which every man jack of them was devoted.

Deneen could have had their friendship and he could have had their political support, regardless of whether they were Republicans or Democrats, by keeping his hands out of their schemes. He could not send them to the penitentiary. He could not convict them in court. He could not keep many of them from being reelected, although he tried in a number of districts. He could not keep them from organizing the house of representatives, although it is the best known fact in Illinois politics that he tried to and was defeated.

In one senatorial election, when Mr. Deneen was Governor and United States senators were chosen by the General Assembly, men powerful in the Legislature, who had opposed Governor Deneen's administration, tried to induce him to accept election to the United States Senate. Because the Governor did not approve of them and their purposes and because he believed it to be his duty to carry out his platform pledges, he declined

these proposals to "kick him upstairs" and served out his term of office.

In 1924 Mr. Deneen had been a private citizen for twelve years. His group was no longer in control of the regular party organization, but after a hard campaign he was nominated and elected United States Senator from Illinois. Upon the death of Senator Medill McCormick, some weeks after the November election, the Governor appointed Mr. Deneen Senator for the duration of McCormick's unexpired term. Then on March 4, 1925, Senator Deneen was sworn in as Senator for a term of six years. He became one of the ranking members of the important Judiciary Committee. As in each public position he ever held, he likewise was most industrious and active as a Senator. He was respected by his colleagues, among whom his influence was large, without regard to party or sectional lines. Attention is called, for instance, to the fact that Senator Frederick H. Gillett of Massachusetts, former Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, was leaving Washington for several weeks while important controversial questions were pending before the Senate Judiciary Committee. He insisted that, in his absence, Senator Deneen should accept and vote his proxy. Senator Deneen accepted the proxy but declined to exercise it in important controversies, until he first had communicated with Senator Gillett.

History shows that, in the large cities of the United States, political organizations of the Republican Party have not survived for considerable periods of time. Whatever may be the reasons for such failure of Republican leadership, it is noteworthy that the Deneen organization has been a potent factor in Chicago, Cook

County, and Illinois since 1904. Much of the time it was dominant and in the bitterly fought recent primary elections of April 9, 1940, it nominated a number of its candidates for state, county and city offices. The long life of the Deneen organization is conceded to be due to the character and clean record of its founder, Charles S. Deneen.

At the Chicago bar, Mr. Deneen was a trial lawyer and counsellor who prepared his cases exhaustively and presented them clearly and forcefully. He was transacting his business in his law office on February 5, 1940, the day of his death.

Mr. Deneen was an enthusiastic Mason and was advanced to its thirty-third degree. He was reared in an agricultural community and as a youth worked on a neighboring farm. His love for such a life persisted and at his death he was engaged in dairy farming in Boone County, Illinois. Busy though he was as a practicing lawyer in Chicago, he was in the habit of visiting his farms often, where he gave attention to details of the industry. It may be added that he was a member and regular attendant at the meetings of the Farmers Club of Chicago.

Mr. Deneen had a brilliant mind; his repartee was not excelled; his humor was like a running stream; his analysis of complicated situations was clear and rational; his political sagacity was almost uncanny. He was aggressive, yet modest almost to diffidence. In his youth he was an expert boxer. He was devoid of physical fear, nor did he hesitate to take on all comers in debate. His fundamentals in honesty, industry, loyalty and sobriety were deep-rooted. His mind, like his life, was clean. His habits were exemplary. His devotion to

his family was marked but not ostentatious. He loved little children. He had a determined, almost stubborn, philosophy, which asserted that finally right would prevail—better to lose temporarily than to win on false issues or with unworthy candidates. His father was a member of the Grand Army of the Republic and the son was reared in the atmosphere of the Civil War. He was a patriot, with a deep sentiment for the Daughters and Sons of the American Revolution. He always wore his S.A.R. button. He was tolerant. He had charity. It might be said of him, he “never faileth”—and throughout a long, full life. Relatively few gained his complete confidence. From those, he kept no secrets. To them, his understanding sympathy was an abiding comfort. After an association with him, in victory and in defeat, for one-half century, I can only say that, in more than one hundred years, our commonwealth has not seen his like.

ROY O. WEST

II. HIS McKENDREE COLLEGE CONNECTIONS

MR. Deneen's ancestors were among the pioneers of Illinois. His family came to the American colonies in 1650 and some of his ancestors served in the French and Indian War; some in the Revolutionary War; and some in the War of 1812. His grandfather, the Reverend William L. Deneen, was born in Bradford County, Pennsylvania, October 30, 1798. When he was still a child his parents moved to Ohio where he grew to manhood. He then moved to Indiana and later to Illinois. He became a member of the Illinois Conference of the Methodist Church and for nineteen years was a pioneer

circuit rider. Then on account of throat trouble he was compelled to give up public speaking. He located in Lebanon, and though a middle-aged man he became a student in McKendree College. He successfully passed examination on the entire course of study and received the degree of Bachelor of Science in 1847. He spent the remainder of his active years as a surveyor. For two terms he was the official county surveyor of St. Clair County.

In 1831 he was married to Miss Verlinder Moore, the daughter of Risdon Moore who had been a soldier in the Revolutionary War. To them were born three children: Risdon M., Samuel H., and Sarah A. who became the wife of the Honorable A. W. Metcalf of Edwardsville. Mrs. William L. Deneen died June 30, 1855, on the day that she was fifty-three years of age. Since she was the grandmother of Charles S. Deneen, her father, Risdon Moore, was his great-grandfather. He was a native of Delaware, and after serving in the Revolutionary War until its successful ending he went to Georgia, where with his young wife whom he married in North Carolina, he made his home for twenty-two years. But since he was strongly opposed to the institution of slavery and saw no prospect of its abolition, he moved to Illinois in 1812 in order that he might be a citizen of a free state. He settled at Turkey Hill near Belleville, and served his fellow-citizens as a member of the Illinois Territorial Legislature, and for three terms after it became a state. He died in 1828 and was buried in the Shiloh Cemetery, where in 1925 the Daughters of the American Revolution unveiled a suitable monument to his memory.

The father of Charles S. Deneen was Samuel Hedding,

the second son of William L. Deneen. He was born near Belleville, December 20, 1835. When he was fifteen years of age he became a student in McKendree and was graduated in 1854 with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Only a year later he became a member of the faculty in McKendree and taught the Latin language and literature for a period of thirty years. In 1876 Indiana Asbury University (now De Pauw University) recognized his superior scholarship by conferring upon him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. In 1862 he left his classroom for a time to serve his country as a soldier in the Civil War. His cousin, Risdon M. Moore, at that time professor of mathematics in McKendree, became the Colonel, and Professor Deneen the Adjutant, of the 117th Illinois Volunteers, which was commonly known as the "McKendree Regiment." In 1864, on account of the state of his health, he was granted an honorable discharge from the service and returned home. After a year of rest and recuperation he resumed his work of teaching in McKendree. In 1886 on account of failing health he was compelled to abandon the work of teaching entirely. After a few years of rest he was appointed by President Harrison to the post of United States Consul at Belleville, Ontario. Later he resigned this position and moved to Chicago, where his death occurred April 13, 1895. His remains were laid to rest in College Hill Cemetery at Lebanon. He was married in 1859 to Mary Frances Ashley, a daughter of Hiram K. Ashley who was a prominent merchant of Lebanon and a trustee of McKendree College. When McKendree's second charter was granted by the Legislature at Vandalia, with the proviso that it should become effective only after it had been ratified by the Board of Trustees of the college,

McKendree's field agent, the Reverend Benjamin Kavanaugh, made his famous night ride on horseback from Vandalia to Lebanon, and a called meeting of the Board was held in Hiram K. Ashley's store and the new charter was ratified. This is the charter under which the college is working at the present time.

Samuel H. and Mary Ashley Deneen were the parents of four children. The eldest, Edward Ashley, was graduated from McKendree in the class of 1878. He died in 1883, a victim of tuberculosis. The second son, Charles Samuel, was born May 4, 1863. He entered the preparatory department of McKendree as soon as the age rule permitted, and was graduated in the class of 1882 with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. The two daughters, Sadie Alice and Florence, are also graduates of McKendree. The former is now Mrs. Frederick J. Dickson of Chicago.

We have now traced the ancestry of Mr. Deneen down to his own immediate family. A cursory review will show how closely the family was associated with this pioneer institution of learning which he was proud to own as his Alma Mater. Nathan Horner, his great-grandfather, was one of the founders of the college, its first treasurer, and for thirty-eight years a trustee. Henry Hypes Horner, his great uncle, was a member of the first graduating class and for twenty-four years Dean of the Law Department. Benjamin Hypes, another great uncle, was treasurer for thirty-five years and a trustee for sixty years, which is the longest official connection on record. His Grandfather Deneen received a degree from the college and was a trustee for eight years. His Grandfather Ashley was a charter trustee and served till 1851. Professor Risdon M. Moore, his second cousin,

was a graduate of the college and for sixteen years was a member of the faculty. Risdon M. Deneen, his uncle, was graduated in 1854; and his father, Samuel H., was a graduate of the college and a member of the faculty for thirty years. His mother would probably have had a degree from the same institution also, except for the fact that in the days of her youth women were not admitted as students in McKendree; so she attended a college for women in Cincinnati. And finally, all four of the children in his father's family were graduates of "Old McKendree."

Mr. Deneen's early home was adjacent to the campus and he grew up in the college atmosphere. He became a student as soon as the age rule permitted. In McKendree's classrooms he cultivated the habit of close and thorough study and acquired in high degree the ability to think clearly and reach correct conclusions. He became a member of the Philosophian Literary Society and in this type of work, as he himself expressed it, he learned to "think on his feet." He developed unusual skill as a debater, and became thoroughly familiar with the principles and usages of parliamentary law. He completed the regular classical course and received his degree with the class of 1882 in which there were twenty-five members. After finishing his college course he taught in the public schools for several years, and in the meantime studied law. In 1885 he received the degree of Bachelor of Laws from his Alma Mater. He then went to Chicago where he engaged in the practice of law. His public career as a member of the Legislature, State's Attorney of Cook County, Governor of Illinois, and United States Senator, is recorded elsewhere.

Deneen's connection with McKendree College was

not terminated with his graduation. In 1900 he was elected to membership in the Board of Trustees, which office he held until his death in 1940. For ten years, from 1913 to 1923, he was President of the Board. He did not hesitate to spend days of his valuable time in the interest of the institution. In 1910 when the college dormitories were being built he secured the services of the state architect to draw the plans, without cost to the college. About the same time he was instrumental in establishing a Department of Agriculture in McKendree. When a suitable experiment field had been selected, and approved by the Dean of Agriculture of the University of Illinois, he promptly paid for the land himself. When the McKendree endowment campaign was being carried on in 1921, he gave several days' time to the enterprise, speaking in behalf of it in various important centers; and this was in addition to his own liberal subscription. One year when the St. Clair Farmers' Institute was being held at McKendree he, at that time Governor of the state, was one of the speakers. An accident which caused serious injury made it necessary for him to walk on crutches, but notwithstanding this handicap he was there and delivered his address.

In 1905 on the recommendation of President McKendree H. Chamberlin and in recognition of his distinguished public services, McKendree College gave him the degree of Doctor of Laws. Among the thousands who have gone out from McKendree's halls, no one has brought greater honor to his Alma Mater, nor shown a more loyal devotion to the institution which helped him to become a distinguished citizen and true statesman, than Charles Samuel Deneen.

A CONFEDERATE PRISONER AT ROCK ISLAND

The Diary of Lafayette Rogan

EDITED BY JOHN H. HAUBERG

Ashley was not dead! He had been wounded and taken prisoner, and the records showed that he was at Rock Island, a prison camp in Illinois. In their first joy, they could think of nothing except that he was alive. But, when calmness began to return, they looked at one another and said "Rock Island!" in the same voice they would have said "In Hell." For even as Andersonville was a name that stank in the North, so was Rock Island one to bring terror to the heart of any Southerner who had relatives imprisoned there.

When Lincoln refused to exchange prisoners, believing it would hasten the end of the war to burden the Confederacy with the feeding and guarding of Union prisoners, there were thousands of blue-coats at Andersonville, Georgia. The Confederates were on scant rations and practically without drugs or bandages for their own sick and wounded. They had little to share with the prisoners. They fed their prisoners on what the soldiers in the field were eating, fat pork and dried peas, and on this diet the Yankees died like flies, sometimes a hundred a day. Inflamed by the reports, the North resorted to harsher treatment of Confederate prisoners and at no place were conditions worse than at Rock Island. Food was scanty, one blanket did for three men, and the ravages of smallpox, pneumonia and typhoid gave the place the name of a pesthouse. Three-fourths of all the men sent there never came out alive.¹

—*Gone With the Wind*

THE most interesting addition to the history of "Rock Island Barracks"—the Confederate prison on Rock Island—that has come to light in many a year was discovered at Tacoma, Washington a year ago.

¹ From Margaret Mitchell, *Gone with the Wind* (New York, 1936), 285-86. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.

While visiting relatives there we met Mrs. Albert H. Hooker, Jr. (Mary Rogan Huntington Hooker). In due course of conversation came the inevitable question: "Where is your home?" "Rock Island, Illinois," we replied. "Rock Island!" she exclaimed, "My great-grandfather, Lafayette Rogan, was a prisoner in the Confederate prison at Rock Island in the Civil War."

Then Mrs. Hooker told of the diary her great-grandfather had kept; she said that it had recently been copied by his grandson, Lafayette Rogan Jones; that she would permit me to read it; that I might have a copy; that I could make two copies, one for the Illinois State Historical Society. Later the family gave their consent to its being written up for the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*.

We found that the diary covered ninety-three pages of letter size paper, double-spaced typing, and that while its author was imprisoned from December 5, 1863 to the end of the war in 1865, the diary for some reason covers only the full year of 1864.

Mr. Jones, to whom we are indebted for performing the task of deciphering the diary—some parts being entirely illegible—added the following short sketch: Lafayette Rogan was born January 21, 1830; died, November, 1906; married Ellen Jane Hunt at Ripley, Mississippi, 1858; enlisted in the Confederate Army at Ripley, Mississippi, February 26, 1862; captured, November 24, 1863 after the Battle of Lookout Mountain; imprisoned at Rock Island, December 5, 1863; released after Lee's surrender.

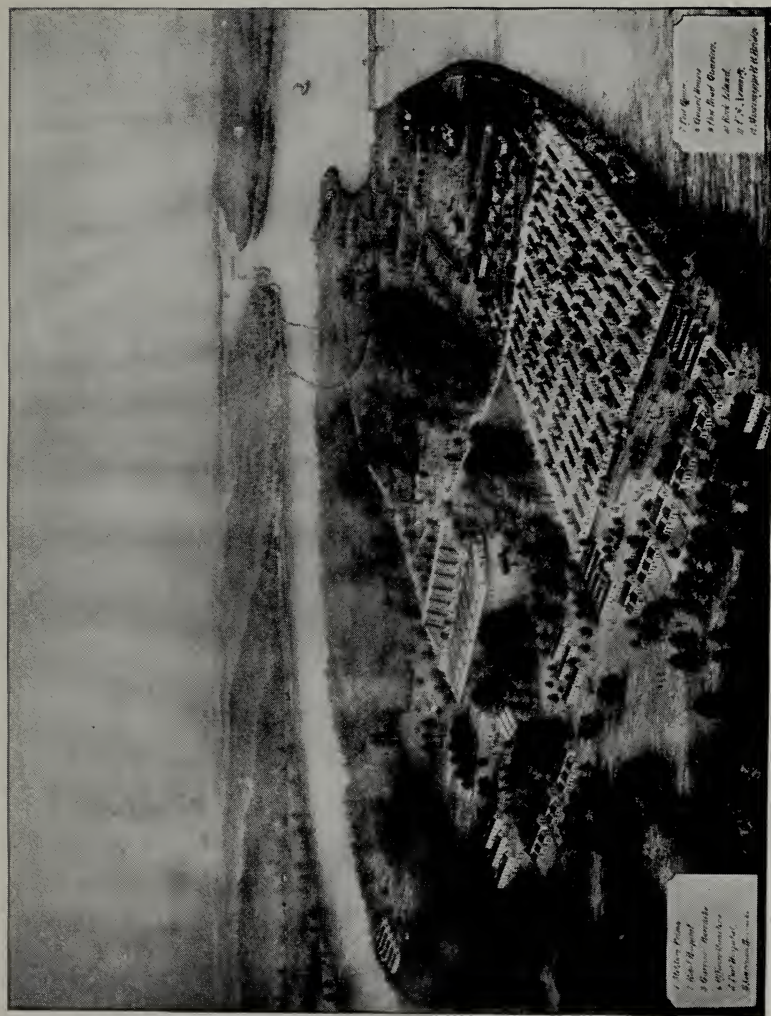
Location of the prison, its environment and a bit of history are in point: Rock Island is an island in the Mississippi River, practically due west of Chicago. It

is at the foot of the Upper Rapids—the “Rock Island Rapids.” The cities of Moline and Rock Island border the island across the slough on the Illinois side, while Davenport faces it across the main channel from the Iowa shore.

The foremost men in the Confederate cause, Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis, Albert Sidney Johnston, Joseph Eggleston Johnston and others of the South had spent time here, the three last mentioned as soldiers doing their first military service against Black Hawk and his “British Band” in 1831-1832. Robert E. Lee came as a lieutenant in the United States Engineers’ Corps in 1837, to survey the Rapids and prescribe plans for curing their hazards to navigation. While the thought that these prominent comrades had been associated with the place probably gave little or no comfort to a prisoner, there were, however, Democratic newspapers which cursed the Union government in a way that must have had some approval of the unfortunate prisoners. For example: “Republican Corruption: The republicans do not seem to be contented with plunging the country into horrible civil war, breaking down civil liberty and bringing financial ruin upon the Union, but they exceed in wickedness and corruption the most profligate capitals in the World.”² There was plenty of this kind of anti-war, anti-Lincoln material in some of the local papers, though in justice to the *Argus*, from which the above is copied, it should be added that their slogan was “The Union must be restored.”

The Tri-cities—Moline, Rock Island and Davenport—presumably had their share of southern sympathizers. Then there was another class who were of southern

² *Evening Argus*, July 20, 1864, p. 3, col. 2.



ROCK ISLAND BARRACKS ABOUT 1864

birth who had a heart for the prisoners, though their personal loyalties were with the North, such as the Buford family, mentioned frequently in the diary. This family had commissioned officers on both sides of the conflict, and General John Buford of Rock Island is credited with having selected the site for the Battle of Gettysburg and having opened the battle. The P. L. Mitchell family of Rock Island found sons of old Kentucky friends here and they acted as go-betweens in delivering to the prisoners contributions which came up from the folks in the South. A number of others are mentioned in the diary, and there were those, found in every community the country over, who cannot rest while others are suffering unnecessarily. They concerned themselves with a wide variety of service, such as supplying food, clothing, Bibles, Testaments and on to the point of aiding escaping prisoners.

While it appears that at no time was the prison population up to capacity of the barracks, there was a world of hardship to be endured. At first it was the cold, with many deaths from pneumonia, there being recorded 53 deaths from that disease in December, 1863, the first month of the prison's use. In January there were 66 deaths from the same disease, 51 in February, 18 in March, and 11 in April. Meanwhile, smallpox had broken out in terrible proportions, with 52 deaths from that disease in January, 1864, 147 in February, 127 in March, 38 in April, 10 in May and 1 in June when the plague, as such, disappeared.³

³ There is another list showing 130 deaths from smallpox and 61 deaths from pneumonia, in which the dates of death are omitted. These figures are from the record of Charles B. Knox, who served as undertaker, and whose record of deaths included the name of the deceased, his company, regiment, state, and cause of death. His grandson, Harry T. Knox, undertaker in Rock Island, is in possession of this record. It gives 99 causes of death, from "abscess" to "wounds," accounting in this way for 1,493 deaths, with another 436 deaths which had no months nor years mentioned and no causes given.

The readiness with which many of his fellow prisoners took the oath of allegiance, and even enlisted in the Federal Army, shocked Mr. Rogan's fine sense of loyalty and caused some of his keenest grief. Then there was a period when they were short-rationed, and in his diary he says that the men were eating dogs.

Perhaps the most uncompromising critics of the prison management, food, sanitation, hospital care, and such, were the Federal inspectors, who made periodic visits, and insisted that things must be right. Along with criticism, they freely gave praise where praise was duly earned, and, in this connection, placed the Rock Island Confederate prison in the ranks of the best conducted military prisons in the United States.

We regret that lack of space in the *Journal* forbids the use of the whole diary. In order, however, that an unbiased account of Mr. Rogan's prison life may be given, we are copying in full the first two months of the year, and the full month of August, and then a lot of scattered entries. The reason for choosing January and February is that they are typical of the entries from January to the first week of May. August is typical of the material from the first week of May to the end of the year, *i. e.* an almost continuous line of discussion of news of the war and rumors thereof.

Mr. Lafayette Rogan Jones, who originally had the diary copied, adds the following explanation:

In the preparation of these copies, care has been taken to use the author's own spelling, abbreviations and punctuation so far as possible. All but a few lines of the manuscript having been written in pencil, seventy-four years ago, in the most delicate and precise script, some passages were undecipherable. This accounts for the blanks found herein. For the same reason there may be errors.

(Signed) LAFAYETTE ROGAN JONES
Christmas, 1938.

January Friday 1 1864

The coldest day I have ever felt. Thermometer 30 below zero. Letters from Cos. Sue. It says "Express Co. refuses to carry for prisoners." This made my heart sink lower still than the mercury. A friend had been written to who could probably give me some assistance. I must go draw rations.

Saturday 2

Tis bad to be a prisoner but worse to know that malice can go so far.—public carriers to such an extreme that they refuse to carry for pay any article for Rebels whose sole dependance is on the charitable people of a hostile country. The cold is as severe as yesterday but rations must be had.

Sunday 3

The cold abates but little. I suffer greatly for blankets. Many fellows have no blankets yet & are very thinly clad. Such men suffer terrible. We sleep by reliefs and fill each bunk heads and tails fashion. I fear that disease and death will be the result of all this suffering. Deaths have already occurred from freezing.

Monday 4

Robinson, Perry and King received a New Year's dinner last night (a purchase from one of Abe's sutlers). I was invited to the repast. I enjoyed it hugely. Meats, cake, pickles, pies, cheese, oysters, fruits and milk constituted the bill of fare.

Tuesday 5

The feast has not ended yet. The supply of good things is not yet exhausted. To night we have the same bill of fare we had last night. One month ago the date of our arrival we had "Hard tack" only, but that was good to us. We were ravenously hungry.

Wednesday 6

This cold weather is not just suited to Southern Constitutions. I and the ration detail have had to stand in the open air from $\frac{1}{2}$ hour to a whole hour daily to get what we all eat—yet there is some relief—We miss inspection which is quite a bore—so much time is consumed at it.

Thursday 7
[Illegible]

[January]

Friday 8

[1864]

A terrible ague today. Mr. W. B. Pettit of Genesee,⁴ Ill. called today to relieve my wants. He furnished socks, shirts, pens, ink, paper, envelopes & stamps. What a relief to feel clean and imagine that one has no l[i]c[e] on him.

Saturday 9

I feel very sore—the effects of that awful ague yesterday though I don't feel sick. I attended as usual the drawing of rations. It was a cold job but I got through quite well myself, but some of the detail cried with the pain produced by the cold.

Sunday 10

I escaped a shake today without the aid of Quinine, whisky or other stimulant than red pepper in my beef and potatoe soup, which by the by, was superbe—Napoleons chief cook could not excell it in flavor and nutritious qualities—no joke but honest truth.

Monday 11

Capt. Collins Com[missary] of Pris[oners] came in this morning and called for me. Asked for a specimen of my writing—brought me out, paroled me to the limits of the Island and set me to making up the record of the prisoners. Quarters are comfortable and while I remain out here I shall not suffer. I shall sleep in old Qrs. for a while.

Tuesday 12

The new Qrs are vastly more comfortable than the old. It is however a stretch of concience for me to think it right to work for "Uncle Sam." Hoping that my health and perhaps my life may be preserved by the change I will continue it until I am ordered back to prison.

Wednesday 13

There is much labor before me if I am kept in this office. Hope I am doing no wrong in consenting to write for these folks. I think I can be of advantage to my fellow prisoners while I remain in this office.

[No further entries until]

February

Monday 1

1864

Today Tom Hunt and I have brought out our blankets and henceforth I hope shall remain outside the prison enclosure except to visit the boys occassionally. I have fears that small pox will spread amongst us and sweep us from the earth and our friends.

⁴ Genesee, Ill., about 30 miles from Rock Island on present-day maps.

[February]

Tuesday 2

[1864]

[*In ink*] Mr. W. B. Pettie brought a lot of clothing, Books &c for me today—the gift of my Cos. Mrs. Sue Markell. These articles make Tom and I very comfortable. [*In pencil*] The Testaments I will distribute when I go in prison.

Wednesday 3

To day I have been very sleepy having sat up later than usual last night. Nothing to render my restraint more tollerable has occurred today. New clothes change the outer man but cant cure the desire to be in Dixie.

Thursday 4

From some unknown cause I have felt less sad today. Tommie Tate a good little boy belonging to our regiment is dead. A sympathiser, Mr. Crampton of Davenport, in a modest way, asked Rowland for his name which he tacked on a bundle of clothing and left it for him while he was out. Good man.

Friday 5

I learn of a story of Hugh Rogan who fled from County Antrim for rebellious conduct towards the british Govt. leaving Patsy his wife and Hugh an infant behind. After 10 years absence and seven years of war with the Govt. from which he fled he determined to return for the dear wife and boy. Arriving in Philada. he met an Irish woman and a young man—asked if they were off the ship and their names. Yes and me name is Patsy Rogan and its me thats Hugh was his reply.

Saturday 6

To day has passed without an occurence of special interest. Save that a Judge Grant of D. formerly of N. C. and classmate of Hon. J. Thompson of Miss with whom he once came near fighting over the translation of some latin. If the difference in size was as great then as now the fight would have been unequal.

Sunday 7

To day—went into prison inclosure to see boys—found all well in No. 9 well. All of B Co. well except I. G. Bills who I dont think will live long. Two cases of S. Pox sent from No. 9 this week. Sgt. Cocke No. 1 sick—Afraid to see him thinks he has S. P. Testaments to T. Neely and Bill P.

[February]

Monday 8

[1864]

"All quiet today" externally but the internal commotion is great. My heart aches for liberty to give my dear wife a full expose of what weighs on my mind and troubles the heart. Oh, that I could once more have her society and that of my precious boy and breath Southern air.

Tuesday 9

To day like all its predecessors of late has been spent in writing for the Commissary of Prisoners and in offering prayers to Almighty God for my early release and return to Country and family. Navy Roll of 664 traitors to our country completed to day.

Wednesday 10

No news today from home—When shall I get a letter from the dear wife who suffers so much in mind on my account. I wish she knew how comfortably [I am] situated and then she would be less troubled about my condition.

Thursday 11

My blood was made to tingle as it rushed through its veins, when a deserter from Tennessee boasted of the desertions from the Tenn. Regts. I suppose he thought he was talking to Feds. alone but when I expressed the hope that all such would meet their deserts; his eyes were opened and his tongue stopped.

Friday 12

This day has passed without any occurrence of note. Judge Grant was over. Those of the prisoners who do not desire to go on exchange send in their names to day. Many will refuse to be exchanged hoping to be paroled. I hope they will get dissappointed and have to remain in prison.

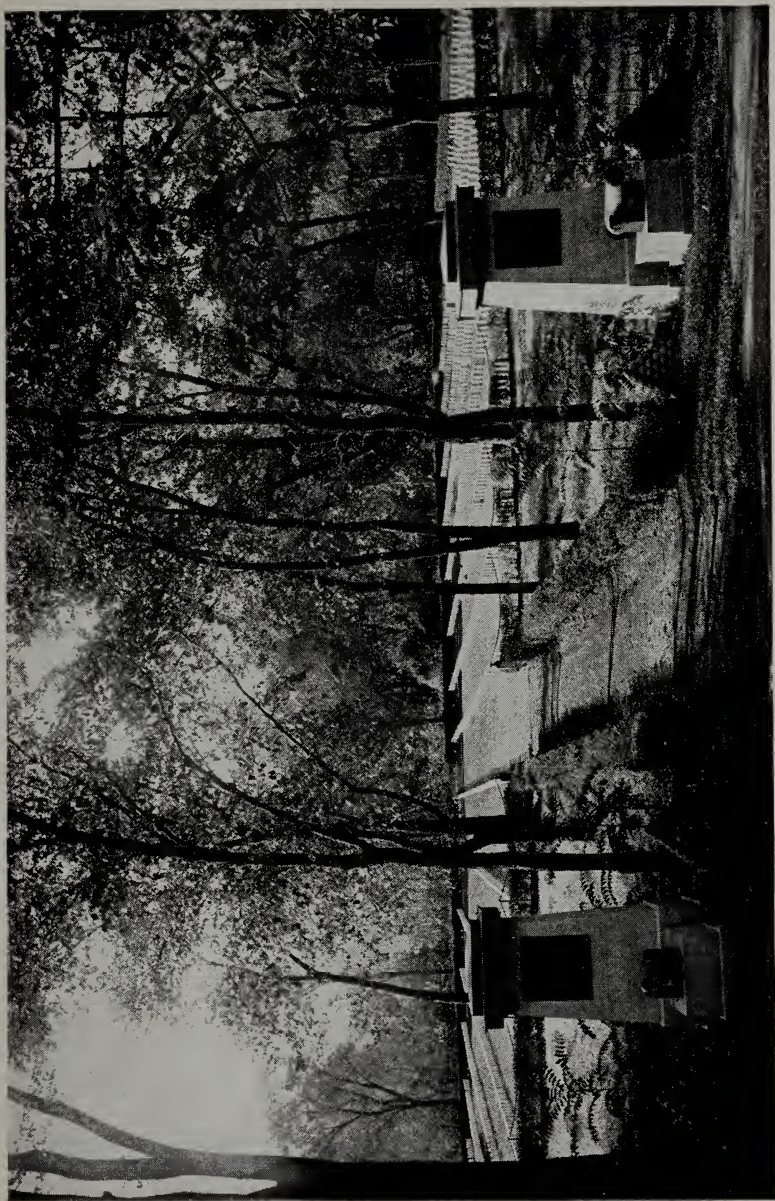
Saturday 13

Liberal donations of clothing continue to be made by the good ladies of Ky. Ten. and by kind friends who do not reside far from this place. Mrs. Buford of R. I. is active in procuring necessities. Miss Kate Perry of Ky. has been here for weeks as a ministering Angel. God bless all such and send more.

Sunday 14

Work—Work—Work all day long for me to day—How often I thought of home country and Dear Wife, boy, Fathers, Mother Sisters and the bright prospects which once were spread out before me. But I will not repine for God's hand has shielded me thus far and I trust will do so through all.

516103



CONFEDERATE CEMETERY, ROCK ISLAND

[February]

Monday 15

[1864]

High hopes of an early exchange have filled my mind today. An exchange would be almost as an announcement of peace to us. Peace is desirable but liberty is more so. Boxes from K. P. again today.

Tuesday 16

Kind friends send many articles for the sick and needy Rebs. God bless all such. Lieut Layton takes great pains to deliver all articles and deserves many thanks for his arduous labors in behalf of the prisoners.

Wednesday 17

More relief for the needy Rebels from unknown sources. I fear that many if not all the articles sent fall in to hands which are greedy and clothe many who are unthankful. Many seek contributions who are now deserting our cause.

Thursday 18

Home again! Home again! Oh: when shall I be there? When shall peace be re-established again & good will be to all men. No letter from home and dear ones there yet. God bless them.

Friday 19

Opposite our office the ice gave way and for a time promised the complete opening of the great "father of waters" but below the icy bridge was too strong to yield to the moving mass from above and soon all became a huge pile of great sheets of ice. Teams were crossing the river today. Quite a supply of good clothing from friends received today.

Saturday 20

Quite a number of ladies at Hd. Qrs. Mrs. Buford, Mrs. Judge Grant and others. Our old friend Crampton brought some books for the prisoners and some delicacies for the sick. A large fire in Dport—to night. Tom had a letter from Lt. Moody which notified us of Adj't Millers escape.

Sunday 21

Visited Barrack to day and found all our Regt generally well. Small-pox increasing alarmingly fast.

I gave out some testaments sent to me by Cousin Sue M.

[February]

Monday 22

[1864]

This day has been one of but little interest until Tom recvd a letter from Mewt saying all were well at home. Glad news which has had a most joyful effect upon me. I shall now expect daily a letter from my dear Ella's own hand.

Tuesday 23

A letter from Sam M. Duffield of Phad. last night. One from Cos. Sue this morning. Testament & Psalms from Miss Lusa Smith of Dport. Cigar from an unknown lady—Bessy Grant sent for my coat to mend it. Cousin Sue says she has sent me a New Years Gift—It has not been recvd. yet.

Wednesday 24

To day has been devoid of interest Home, home, sweet home—Country and Country's cause with the loved ones from whom I am separated, have filled my thoughts to day. When shall I see dear wife and boy and behold my country free and independant & at peace?

Thursday 25

This day has been interesting in that the ice came floating down the river in sheets acres large. The unevenness of the river banks caused the ice to pile up on dry land in heaps as large as a good sized house. It was truly magnificent to behold—It displayed the power and grandure of Gods works. The R. R. bridge finally checked the ice &c.

Friday 26

Two years to day since our company effected its organization. It once numbered 91 now alas 35 only can be accounted for as members. Only 5 have been killed, about 5 died from wounds. The others have been discharged or have been swept off by disease.

Saturday 27

Ladys in to day by the score, inquiring after the needy.

God bless all who contribute to the comfort of the needy fellows who are so unfortunate as to be made prisoners of war.

Sunday 28

This day has not been spent as I would liked to have spent it. I would like more quiet—to go to church with my wife & boy. I would like also to be a free man before next Sunday.

Good news from Dixie to night Unto the Most High let praises & thanks to day.

[February]

Monday 29

[1864]

The ice to day appears to be making a desperate effort to get away & the people of Dixie may look out for an invasion from the north. I trust it will be harmless to all except our foes.

March

Friday 25

1864

The fine spring-like days continue & I have noticed to day that the birds are actually beginning to "peep." I have done but little work to day—Have thought of home & how happy it once was & strange, is to— did not depress me, for all that made it happy has been spared.

Saturday 26

Good news from Dixie. Forrest is victorious at Union City⁵—God speed him on his errand of patriotism & enable him to rid Tennessee of her oppressors.

Sunday 27

From Mrs. Buford I received a coat & shirt, the gift of Mrs. Jno. McCom of Lexington—she requested a written acknowledgment of the receipt—I gave it paying a tribute to the old coat and the Women of Ky.

Monday 28

More good news from Forrest. Paducah⁶ was destroyed by him. Bright prospects of an exchange. Camp Chase⁷ prisoners under marching order & think they are homeward bound—Oh, for an Exchange or a Parole.

Tuesday 29

My friend the quandom Jew was so happy over the receipt of the Photographs of his whole family that it made me happy to witness his joy & hear his happy tounge—A confederate prisoner now confined here gave birth to a boy child today.

Wednesday 30

The story of the birth in prison has been magnified and transmogrified from a puppy to a baby—The truth however, did not come out until the story appeared in the daily *Argus* of Rock Island.

⁵ General Nathan B. Forrest, leading a raid on western Tennessee, captured the garrison of four or five hundred men at Union City on March 24, 1864.

⁶ After General Forrest took Union City, Tennessee, he moved northward toward Paducah, Kentucky, which he attacked on March 26. The battle lasted for ten hours and much of the town was destroyed, but the Union forces under Brigadier General Mason Brayman retained possession of the city.

⁷ Camp Chase, training camp and military prison, was located a few miles west of Columbus, Ohio.

[March]

Thursday 31

[1864]

But little work appears now to be before me & if I am not returned to Barracks I expect sometime to read & exercise my ingenuity in making trinkets to remind my friends in after years of my present condition.

April

Monday 4

1864

My time has been spent to day mostly in novel reading.

The rain continues & it is cold & very gloomy. I have been very mad to day & gave vent to my passions in an officers presence. Neil Dows villainous lies the cause.

Tuesday 5

Good news tonight—The news that an exchange had been concluded & approved by Genl Grant made us Rebs quite joyful—The boys must have heard the news by some means & that too before we got it.

Letters from home do not reach me but I hope I shall now reach home ere long.

Wednesday 6

I think I discover in Sickles visit to the "Reclaimed Territory to try to reconcile the people to the U. S. Govt." the beginnings of the end of the war. I believe that could Tenn. Ky. Ark. & la. be induced to secede from the C. S. [Confederate States] that the others would be let go—thinking that they too would ultimately return—If they are found loyal to the C. S. as I think they are further affronts will end.

Thursday 7

Shirts, socks and pants with books were presented to us to day by Mrs. B. I have been working over the rolls & records to find out errors in the number of N. O. I am very anxious to hear from my dear wife & boy—I hope I shall soon see them.

Friday 8

Rain, Rain, patter, patter, blow, blow, has been the order of the day—I have again spent the day in seeking for the errors which I endeavored to discover yesterday—I cant make it right— the Rolls & books dont correspond.

Saturday 9

All day I have toiled over the Rolls and record looking for the errors & now think I will get the returns alright this time.

[April]

Sunday 10

[1864]

This day has been spent in finishing up The Monthly Returns.

This has been a fine day & I, after my labors were ended sat about writing to my dear Ella—I fear my letter will render her unhappy if it reaches her—for I had the blues when I wrote.

Saturday 16

Had a visit to day from Judge Low of Iowa who once lived in Ashville Ala & was a firm friend of my father.

He is much of a Republican & thinks that we will be compelled to give way to the gigantic preparations now being made for our final defeat.

Saturday 23

For some cause or no reason all clerks at Hd. Qrs. & at the Provost Marshalls were returned to Bks. [Barracks]. I was not surprised at the event. It is what I have looked for—I was made happy this morning by the receipt of a letter from my dear Ella—The danger of taking Small Pox is greater—but I pray God to protect us all in our changed condition.

Tuesday 26

To day we had the finest day of all it has been warm & bright & I have [been] gayer & happier than on any since I have been a prisoner.

I had a letter from Col B which gave me considerable hope—Its tone was what I had needed.

Friday 29

It has rained almost continually & the day has been cold & cheerless. No means of out-door amusements can be adopted on such days & such a continual clatter of tongs—whistling, singing, speech-making, dancing, hollowing &c &c renders it impossible to read with any degree of pleasure.

Saturday 30

Again have we been made to rejoice over the news of exchange & this time we are confident that there is no mistake.

We surely will leave this place before many days and O' how gladly will we receive orders to march homeward & how thankful to God are we for His Kind protection over us here.

May

Sunday 1

1864

Spent the forenoon in reading Morning and Night watches—Attended divine service in Main Avauue. An Episcopal Clergyman officiated & the congregation joined in the responses. The post Chaplain Mr.———was introduced—No allusion to our relations to the U. S. was made. The prayer for the President of the U. S. was omitted.

Monday 2

One of the dull days. Not one since our return to prison has been so blank. Not a rumor to disquiet or excite our dull spirits—Tis cold too. Cold enough for a February day in Dixie. Over coats have been in requisition all day—Have taken cold.

Friday 6

From various sources we get the rumor that we are to be sent away for Exchange very soon. The papers say Grant has begun a forward movement. I pray God to give us an overwhelming victory over his hosts—one that will bring peace—An order to shear & shave was given to day. Complied with generally.

Saturday 7

Rains. 5 men escaped. Va battle said not to have commenced. Grant reported in Lees rear Lee in his entrenchments at Orange C[ourt] H[ouse]. Reports that Kirby Smith fell upon Banks Red river fleet at Alexandria & destroyed 10 gun Boats & transports.⁸ Ohio Dem. favor unconditional recognn of C. S. Nail the sentiment on their banners & clear the deck for action. Yanks alarmed about something.

Sunday 22

Preaching at 3 oclock by Mr. Gracy. Nothing of a definite character from Va. Sherman's advance to Kingston Confirmed. Vicksburg said to be a certainty to be in our hands. I yet fear defeat but pray for success. Panicks among prisoners & Garrison tonight caused by some rolling barrell with rock along hill.

Monday 23

Loss of 27,000 in 5th Army Corps is admitted by Yanks on 21st

⁸ Early in 1864 Union leaders planned an expedition to Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas. Land forces under General Nathaniel P. Banks and a fleet of gunboats under Admiral David D. Porter moved up the Red River and occupied Alexandria, Louisiana in March. Edmund Kirby-Smith, Confederate general in command of the Trans-Mississippi Department, led several attacks on land forces, and the Red River fleet was also attacked by the Confederates. Results on both land and water were indecisive, however, and Banks abandoned the entire campaign. He evacuated Alexandria on May 13.

—Final results still a matter of doubt—Lee admitted to be the greatest Genl of the age. Conflicting reports from Ga.—Sherman at Rome Ga—Kingston⁹—& near Atlanta & in full retreat to Cumberland Gap R. R. in E[astern] T[ennessee] destroyed—Prisoners expected here—Feel badly cold troubles me.

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August Monday 1 1864

Shermans operations have not been satisfactory. Atlanta to be speedily invested. The principal fort at Petersburg blown up & first line of entrenchments taken. Ewel destroys Chambersburg Pa by burning.¹⁰ Making shirt studs of shell. Hands & shoulders give me much pain.

Tuesday 2

Grant repulsed after taking the 1st line of works. Federal loss 5,000—ours heavy. Negro division behaved badly—Nearly all of its officers killed. S. C. Regt. burried almost entirely by explosion. Nothing from Atlanta or from Ewel.

Wednesday 3

Further particulars from the Petersburg fight but no other engagement. Nothing from Atlanta. Copperheads & Malitia fight in Montgomery Co. Ill.¹¹ Cops. victorious. other bands of C. heads said to be cutting up both in Iowa & ill.

Thursday 4

Southern papers claim 10,000 prisoners at Petersburg. Lincoln & Grant in consultation at Fortress Monroe. Mead superceded. Hooker ordered to Washington. Exchange going on in trans Mississippi Department. McClelland [McClellan] it is thought will be called to command of the troops at Washington.

⁹ Rome was taken by Union forces under Brigadier General Jefferson C. Davis. He commanded a division in General Sherman's Atlanta campaign. Kingston, a little village on the Etowah River, was made General Sherman's headquarters on May 21.

¹⁰ Grant was attempting to reach Richmond through Petersburg, Virginia. On July 30, 1864, his forces blew an enormous hole—later known as the Crater—in the Confederate fortifications at Petersburg. However, the South retained possession of the fort until Lee evacuated it on April 2, 1865. Chambersburg was burned on July 30, 1864 by order of General Jubal A. Early, then commanding General Richard S. Ewell's corps. Early demanded a ransom of \$100,000 in gold or \$500,000 in greenbacks and fired the town when the money was not delivered.

¹¹ Such disturbances occurred in various places. The one in Montgomery County was led by Thomas L. Clingman.

[August]

Friday 5

[1864]

McCook captures 500 wagons & 500 Prisoners which are retaken with 2,300 Fed. prisoners & 4,000 horses by Gen. Rains after a desperate fight. Hood reinforced by two divisions from Va. & two brigades from Mobile. 250 Men burnt [?] Chambersburg. Our loss at Petersburg 800. Ewel at Martinsburg. Confederate Cavalry in Maryland.

Saturday 6

The news of yesterday is confirmed only by to days paper. Various rumors are afloat but cant be traced to any reliable source.

The Yanks call for a Reb. to hoist their flag which has gotten out of order—They want the pole 120 feet high climbed.

Sunday 7

A complete dearth of news to day—Finished reading 2nd Vol of the reformation by D'Aubegni [D'Aubigné]. Those times were such as tried mens souls. Rome was strong but drunk with sin gloating blood & all sinfulness.

Monday 8

Gen. Canby [?] orders the exchange of 30,000 prisoners. Recvd a box of tobacco a dozen cigars & a paper from Mrs. Jones of N. York—had to pay \$1.25 extra express charges.

Tuesday 9

Yankee Monitors (2) are said to have passed Fts. Morgan & Gains & are shelling Mobile.¹² Times characterise Grants campaign as the most disastrous ever made against Richmond & pronounces it a failure in toto G. thought to be with———.

Wednesday 10

Three Monitors & 14 Gun-boats have passed Fts. at Mobile. One sunk. 2 of our——— are captured 1 sunk—Mobile is in great danger.

Should it surrender Hood & his army are in great peril. Must leave Atlanta or finally capitulate to our terrible foe I fear.

¹² A Union fleet of four monitors and fourteen wooden ships entered Mobile Bay on August 5 and a furious battle with the Confederate ironclad *Tennessee* and three small wooden gunboats followed. Fort Gaines, located on Dauphine Island in the Gulf of Mexico, was taken by Union forces on August 8, 1864. Fort Morgan, located at the entrance to Mobile Bay, withstood the siege until August 23.

[August] Thursday 11 [1864]

The news from Mobile is said to be exaggerated. Longstreth [Longstreet] is said to be marching to Hoods relief with 30,000. Confeds marching on Cumberland Gap.

Friday 12

The news from Mobile gives Fts. Gains & Powel¹³ to the enemy—with guns & 600 men—Why such disasters? They but cause reverses when otherwise they would not occur.

Saturday 13

I am in the shirt stud & breast pin business. Have sold \$1.50 cts worth—& yet have a dollars worth. It has required two weeks & a 50 ct. file to do this—Stock & cash accounts show \$2.00 clear profit. Time being out of the question.

Sunday 14

Our city of 8,000 souls has been much rejoiced to day over a false rumor of an early exodus. No news has reached us. I have felt less rheumatism to day than any day since I was attacked—Have some symptoms of diarrhhoea.

Monday 15

Have been increasing my stock of shell jewelry to day. Three days fighting at Atlanta on 6, 7 & 8th inst Hood reports our loss as being insignificant.¹⁴ The Yanks say loss on both sides is small. "Times" says the reports of the surrender of Ft. Gains & C are obtained from rebel deserters.

Tuesday 16

No further news from the front except that affairs begin to assume a threatenng attitude in the Shenandoeh Valley. Grants withdrawal is still asserted. Armed resistance to Lincolns draft is threatened by the Copperheads of Indiana & the entire Northwest. Troops are being distributed over the country to enforce it.

¹³ On August 5 a Union monitor approached within 700 yards of Fort Powell and bombarded it. Lieutenant Colonel J. M. Williams, commanding the fort, considered the situation hopeless and evacuated the fort the same evening. He blew it up after his men were removed.

¹⁴ The Union advance on Atlanta was started by General Sherman on May 5 but the city did not capitulate until September 1. Confederate forces defending Atlanta were at first under General Johnston but he was replaced by General Hood on July 17. Following its capture, Sherman issued orders for the destruction of the city.

[August]

Wednesday 17

[1864]

Five regts. at Chicago supposed to prevent the assembling of the Cop. Hd. Convention. Gov. Seymore¹⁵ refuses to furnish any more troops—A meeting at Chicago declares their opposition to the draft & say if they must fight it will be for the constitution—Yank loss at Atlanta stated at 500 & also at 2,500.

Thursday 18

Grant moves from north side of James river—gains some advantages which Yanks appear to think will increase the chances of the capture of Richmond—Early reinforced & Sheridan falling back. Grant cuts a canal. Mobile not in much danger—Wheeler at Dalton.

Friday 19

Sheridan at Winchester fortifying Yanks—think Lee must withdraw to his fortification at R[ichmond] or recall Early as they are now in 6 miles of the city—Wheeler is reported at Dalton—Filmore & Seymore of ct. spoken of democratic nominees. Nothing from Atlanta.

Saturday 20

Letter from John Gray at Camp Chase—wants money—Wheeler fights at Graysville. Strail [?] killed—Steadman wounded—result not given—Valandigham says if we dont want to come back let us go—Lincoln will do as well as a war democrat.

Sunday 21

Answered Grays letter—Read the history of the reformation—tried to get some news but none is afloat—Order from Com. Gen. of Prisons prohibiting us from receiving supplies from friends & from buying anything to eat &c.

Monday 22

Nothing in the way of news to day from any quarter—Have been at work in shell to day—Mostly at finishing up some studs which I had formerly made—Now have 5 sets ready for sale—The trade however appears to be dull now & I may not find sale for them.

¹⁵ Horatio Seymour, Democratic governor of New York from 1852 to 1854 and 1862 to 1864, presided at the Chicago convention. Many "moderate Democrats" favored him for the presidency.

[August]

Tuesday 23

[1864]

Fabulous rumors about Grants defeat at Malvern Hill & consequent retreat from before Richmond & also of Shermans retreat from Ga. are circulating to day. Some even say that they have read the accounts in the "Journal." I dont credit either. Negro recognized by C. S.

Wednesday 24

Forrest enters Memphis, captures most of Fed. offs there—releases prisoners—destroys commissary stores remains eight hours.¹⁶ Fight in P & Weldon R. R. Yanks loose 3,000—driven back two miles reinforce & retake the field. Rumors of the capture of Tullahoma & many prisoners.

Thursday 25

Yesterdays R. I. *Argus* says volunteers were called for at Moline & 83 enlisted for a few days to guard us. 6,000 troops are now said to be here—Apprehensive of an effort to release us—Warm times anticipated at the democratic convention next Monday—O, for some action that will give peace.

Friday 26

No news to day—Continuance of unreliable rumors about affairs at various points. The Chicago Convention now attracts our whole attention.¹⁷ The result of which we expect to have much influence on the war. We hope for war here to give us peace at home.

Saturday 27

A reb dresses in Yankee uniform & effects his escape by boldly walking out of the prison gate. Make a _____ of shell. The news from the outside world has not reached us to day—Weather coolish during the intire day—two blankets are required for covering at night.

Sunday 28

Richards escape reported this morning—A raid upon us took 5 blankets from Rowland & I. 3 of them our own property. Fight in Valley of Va.—result not given—Heard of Col. Burtons death. In him we lost a gallant leader, a good friend, an excellent man & the country a noble defender.

¹⁶ Memphis had been in the hands of Union forces since June 6, 1862. On August 21, 1864, General Nathan B. Forrest made a sudden entrance into the city and captured about 250 men.

¹⁷ The Democratic national convention met in Chicago on August 29 and General George B. McClellan was nominated for the presidency. A plank branding the war a failure and declaring the need for peace was inserted in the platform by Clement L. Vallandigham. A series of Union successes followed shortly afterwards and McClellan repudiated the peace plank.

[August]

Monday 29

[1864]

This day has been wholly without news. All eyes are turned now to the Copperhead convention hoping that peace will follow its action. Another raid this morning this time for federal uniforms. No discovery in our Bks. I expected to have lost a shirt but didn't.

Tuesday 30

Sherman is swinging round to Macon road. Hancock makes a raid in same direction is successful in destroying train & capturing prisoners & Art. All of which we afterward recaptured. Yankee loss on Weldon R.R. Heavy & they are driven back after five charges from our forces.¹⁸

Wednesday 31

Letter from my dear Ella as late as 15th inst. All well—Carrie gives a description of the fight in Memphis. Fought all around their house. Five bright lights in the heavens to night. They appear something like the tails of comets but dissappeared after half an hour.

.

September

Monday 12

1864

The heart grown sick & the soul sinks within me when I see so many deserting our cause. From 1,500 to 2,000 of the prisoners here will enlist for frontier service. A Yank officer stole a watch fob from a fellow prisoner to day.

Saturday 24

A regt of Contrabands arrived at this port for garrison duty. One man to four companies for roll calls. Taking names of disabled men for exchange. Men unable for duty will be held Sherman & Hood exchange 2,000 prisoners—Sheridan's victory I think will dwindle down to almost nothing after all.¹⁹

Monday 26

8,000 Southern men to day are guarded by their slaves who have been armed by the Tyrant. One of our number was killed & two

¹⁸ Grant had failed in his efforts to capture the Weldon Railroad on June 22 and made another attempt on August 18. During the week following that date, a corps under Major-General Winfield S. Hancock succeeded in taking a part of the railroad but later was forced to abandon it. That portion of the road at Globe Tavern, four miles from Petersburg, however, was retained by the Union forces.

¹⁹ On the contrary, Sheridan was beginning a brilliant campaign in the Shenandoah Valley. After defeating General Early at Winchester, Va., on September 19 and at Fisher's Hill on September 22, he proceeded to lay waste the Valley, following this up by a decisive defeat of Early at Cedar Creek on October 19. He was made a major-general in the regular army on November 8 in recognition of his success.

others wounded last night in cold blood. Mobile surrendered.²⁰ Camp Chase prisoners charge the parapet & escape.

Friday 30

This is the sadest day of all the days of my prison life. 15 men deserted us & take up arms against our cause. Oh how depraved the men of the present generation are become. Self home parents dear wife & children are abandoned for the sake of a few oz of meat & bread—God forgive.

October

Sunday 2

1864

Four rebs escape last night. Tom is out. I shall not see him again soon. Will not fare so well now. Negro declares his Southern proclivities—is taken under guard from parapet. His name is Saml Craig of Ky & says he was drafted. A Reb walks out at the gate after Roll call.

Monday 3

Quite a number of rebs broke out of the pen last night climbed over the fence cut through & dug under—four were retaken—others I dont know how many are yet out. Two from No. 9. The boys from Walthalls Brigd. are yet OK. Nigs all right.

Tuesday 4

Other unsuccessful efforts at escape last night. 2 escapes to day. Rumors that an exchange has been agreed on for 27,000 of the oldest prisoners on hand. I dont regard it as at all reliable—I have the blues every day. Weather very disagreeable.

Thursday 13

Desertions continue to occur to the enemy. 5 left our bks & probably as many as 200 have gone to day—Brown of Ga. replies to Sherman that the difficulties which he will encounter in his _____ which will be great—All hands went to R. I.

November

Wednesday 9

1864

Election returns from all qrs indicate that the people of the north are yet mad. I believe that Mr. Lincolns re-election is however our ultimate salvation as a free & independent Confederacy of States. His rule will be iron & his yoke galling. Change will come.

²⁰ Apparently another false rumor. Confederate forces did not surrender Mobile until April 12, 1865. The city was blockaded, however, after Fort Morgan surrendered on August 23, 1864.

December

Tuesday 27

1864

I have never felt despondent under reverses until now. I fear that our people are not as prayerful as formerly. O that every knee was bent before God & that every heart would in faith—full faith—implore Him for His blessing upon our cause if it be a good one.

Wednesday 28

I have ever felt that I would cheerfully accept the result of this contest believing that God wont cause it to end to our ultimate advantage & to His eternal glory. I pray for a speedy coming of the end. I pray for a release of all prisoners & their return to Homes & families.

Thursday 29

Days in prison are so like each other that they fail to give items to record. The only thing that I have had to vary the monotony of to day is some exercize on the ice. I buckled on a pair of scates & tried to learn the art which appears to be one of great amusement.

Friday 30

On the ice again to day—make little progress in learning. I can stand up pretty well but cant go forward at much speed. Think I can learn by constant effort.

Saturday 31

A letter from Judge Lowe of Keokuk to day referring to my parole about which he has written to Mr. Lincoln. Judge Wright of Iowa has a son in one of our prisons. & I have strong hopes that I shall be able to bring about an exchange between him & myself.

And thus the year ends, still hoping and praying for the exchange or parole which never came. Mr. Rogan leaned heavily on his religion. It is to be hoped that he never lost faith, for his was a very dark path, both through the war and following it. The cause for which he offered his life, for which he was willing to give his all, was lost. Four Rogan brothers and a brother-in-law in their enthusiasm and patriotic ardor had enlisted in the Confederate Army, and Lafayette alone of the five survived the war. His home was sacked and burned by

Federal soldiers. "And when he returned to Mississippi," writes his daughter, Mary Rogan Jones, "with everything gone, he [was] the only man to take care of his brothers' widows and orphans [their] negroes and his own [family]. He met the burden like a good soldier and had little time to think of the discomforts of his life in prison."

QUINCY, AN OUTPOST OF PHILOSOPHY

BY PAUL RUSSELL ANDERSON

THE chief centers of philosophic discourse in the Midwest during the second half of the nineteenth century were St. Louis and Jacksonville, rivals in the sense that one was largely devoted to Hegel while the other had its primary affections for Plato, yet co-ordinate in the sense that these philosophies were not in necessary opposition to one another. Each in its own way sought a spiritual interpretation of life over against the growing materialism of the day, each offered a personal orientation for its devotees and each provided a unifying quality of existence to soften the harsh and seemingly cruel blows of a disinterested and mechanical universe which made man an alien in his world. These streams of thought were not limited in their influence to the groups which assembled in their respective abodes, nor to the more cosmopolitan audience which listened to their separate claims at Concord. Both possessed a missionary zeal enlivened by the persuasiveness of their leaders and both served a missionary purpose by carrying the gospels of Hegel and Plato into territory ripe for some integrating way of life which placed institutional and personal problems in perspective.

As the Hegelian group had influence upon such places as Terre Haute, Indiana, where the leaders of the normal school developed a philosophy of education along some-

what Hegelian lines, so the Platonic group spread to Decatur, Bloomington, and Quincy, Illinois where smaller but nevertheless enthusiastic bodies assembled to study Plato and assimilate the inspirational overtones as well as the positive content of the Platonic system.¹ Of these cities Quincy stands as the most active and most productive, nourished as it was by a New England and Virginia ancestry, contacts with the East through Emerson and Alcott as well as through personal visits, conversations and correspondence with the larger circles at Jacksonville and St. Louis and led by Mrs. Sarah Denman and Samuel H. Emery, Jr., two local philosophical minds who helped transmit the Platonic spirit, and to some extent the Hegelian as well, to a ready and alert audience.

The early history of Quincy parallels that of Jacksonville to a considerable degree although its institutional life was not so highly developed, while its industrial interests far exceeded those of Jacksonville and aided immeasurably in its increase in population. Quincy acquired its name in 1825 as a tribute to John Quincy Adams who was then President of the United States. Its first newspaper was established in the early thirties and had become a daily by the fifties. A "Quincy Historical Club" was founded in 1840, the chief object of which was to preserve the record of the early years of the colony. A town library was started in 1841 which served not only as a common repository of knowledge but also as an instrument of adult education through the lecture series which it conducted for many years, on which appeared national as well as local figures and

¹ For information on the Jacksonville philosophical groups see an article by the author, "Hiram K. Jones and Philosophy in Jacksonville," printed in this *Journal*, Dec., 1940, pp. 478-520.

at which scientific and philosophical topics were discussed. A competitive lecture series sponsored by the Encore Club appeared in the fifties. From the beginning Quincy had a strong interest in education. Miss Catherine Beecher established an "English and German Seminary" which became in succession Johnson College and Chaddock College, the latter of which was given to "higher education" until about 1900 when it gave up collegiate instruction and became a boys' school (Chaddock School). In 1860 St. Francis Solanus College (now Quincy College) was established and it continued to grow until by late in the century it had over two hundred students; its library today, for an institution of its size and type, has a rather remarkable collection of original manuscripts and sources in classical philosophy and literature. The completion of the section between Quincy and Galesburg of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad in 1857 gave Quincy direct connection with the East and increased its population as well as gave great impetus to its industrial life. In 1858 one of the famous Lincoln-Douglas debates was held in Washington Park, since Quincy by that time was generally regarded as one of the important centers in Illinois politics.

Quincy has always had a fairly large German element in its population. Germans began arriving in the early 1830's and this process continued slowly until 1857 after which in increasing numbers immigrants from various sections of Germany, particularly Bavaria, settled there. Today, as one goes through the main business district of town, the names of the chief business houses read almost like a German dictionary of proper names. While this German element might have meant much to

the cultural life of the community, particularly as far as philosophical interests are concerned, it is one of the ironies of local history that its greatest influence has been upon the commercial life of the city while intellectual life was stimulated and led by more indigenous strains largely traceable to New England ancestry. While Quincy's most important amateur philosopher, Samuel H. Emery, Jr., became a Hegelian, there seems to be little basis for assuming that the large German population in Quincy had any influence upon this eventuality.

Nor can it be said that the religious institutions in the community had any appreciable tendency to determine the direction of philosophical thinking. By 1853 when the population of Quincy was somewhere around 10,000 there were over eighteen religious societies, five of which were of German origin and held services in the German language. Yet the intellectual group in the city seems to have been unattached to any particular doctrine or creed and uninterested in defending orthodoxy of any particular sort. True it is that there were those in the city who maintained a zealous desire to restrain the peripheral religious element but comparative freedom of thought came to be recognized as not only legitimate but necessary. Henry Asbury, one of the early members of the "Historical Club" and a local historian in his own right, said in 1882:

Every year that has passed since I have resided here has weakened the disposition in men to foster the spirit of persecution. Perhaps we don't believe as much as we used to think we did, yet we feel sure that we are better than we should be if the old time centuries could fasten upon us again their conscientious convictions that we ought to burn some people to save the souls of others.²

² Henry Asbury, *Reminiscences of Quincy, Illinois* (Quincy, 1882), 122.

The two ministers who had influence upon and connection with the philosophical interests in the city, Samuel H. Emery, Sr., minister of the Congregational Church, and Frederick L. Hosmer, Unitarian minister and noted hymn writer, were of liberal persuasion for their time and offered a stimulating rather than a restraining influence upon the movement. Later, C. F. Bradley of the Unitarian Church associated himself actively with the Jacksonville group.

Emerson and Alcott were frequent visitors to Quincy, appearing there almost every time they made a trip west, Emerson largely as a lecturer and Alcott as the conductor of "conversations." Alcott visited in the home of Mrs. Denman and Emerson on at least one occasion was the guest of the Emery family. Alcott spoke to Friends in Council, of which Mrs. Denman was the organizer and president and although Emerson never attended the regular meetings of the organization he at least met with some of the Quincy ladies. Emerson lectured in Quincy in 1866 at which time Emery first met him. Emery was at the time twenty-six years of age and a student of Emerson's writings. This was the beginning of a congenial friendship which lasted until Emerson's death in 1882.

It is difficult to date Quincy's first interest in philosophical discussion although it seems to have taken place around 1865. It is easier to speak of the influences which brought this interest to the fore. In addition to what has been said above about the character of the soil which made this movement possible, it is well to remember that the ancestry of most of the individuals concerned was that of New England. As a matter of fact many of those connected with the movement were themselves

born in New England. For example, Samuel H. Emery, Jr., and Mrs. John McFadon were born in Taunton, Massachusetts, Edward McClure in Malden, Massachusetts, Mrs. Sarah Denman and James Woodruff in New Haven, Connecticut, C. H. and Lorenzo Bull in Hartford, Connecticut, and Mrs. C. H. Bull in Durham, Connecticut. What brought the movement to fruition were the intermittent visits of Emerson and Alcott and the presence of two people who successively led groups for philosophic discussion, Mrs. Denman and Emery. Emery was proud of the comment which Emerson made when he later (1879) moved to Concord. Meeting Emerson near the Fitchburg station in Concord he welcomed Emerson's comment: "It was a good compliment to this town, your coming here to live."³ Emery's opinion of Emerson was always of the highest. He said: "I have said often, and am glad to repeat, that he was the finest gentleman I every met."⁴ Emery's contacts with Alcott were equally pleasant and when he decided to return east to go to law school at Harvard it was to Alcott that he wrote asking for information as to where he might be comfortably located with his family. The result of this correspondence was that Emery not only settled in Concord but in Alcott's Orchard House from which he (Alcott) had shortly before moved to Thoreau's home. He was also made the director of the Concord School and held this position throughout its existence, adequate testimony of the high regard Alcott had for him.

The relations of Emerson and Alcott to Quincy were not limited to their friendship for Emery. They were

³ F. B. Sanborn, *Recollections of Seventy Years* (Boston, 1909), II: 492. This quotation is from a letter which Emery sent to Concord at the time of the Emerson centenary in 1903 telling of his meeting with Emerson.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 493.

both deeply impressed by the caliber of the feminine minds with which they came in contact. Miss Harriette Moore of Concord wrote to one of the members of Friends in Council after Emerson had been in Quincy in 1872:

Mr. Emerson told me, after his return, that he had never met with a circle of ladies he so much admired as the circle in Quincy. He said in point of culture and intellect they would compare with any ladies he had ever met. As for Mr. Alcott, he was perfectly carried away with them. You would think, from his enthusiasm, he was in his second childhood.⁵

Alcott constantly referred in his *Journals* to the superior culture and learning of the groups he visited, not only in Quincy, but elsewhere in the West. On December 7, 1872, he wrote:

For conversing I rather prefer a Western company before an Eastern. There appears a disposition to deal with things at first hand, a certain robust handling, rough perhaps but ready and respectful, that more than compensates for the daintier and more decorous book-training common to Eastern people.⁶

The robustness with which Alcott characterized the western mind fell short of conceit but it was deeply imbued with confidence and a consciousness of its own importance. This went very hard for the representatives of the East on occasion. After Emerson's 1867 lecture in Quincy, Burrell B. Taylor, editor of the *Quincy Herald*, wrote an editorial entitled "Another Bore." The following quotation from this will indicate something of the self-confidence and honest discrimination characteristic of the West:

The public had been led to expect much from the lecture of Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson, delivered at National Hall, on Tuesday

⁵ Friends in Council, "Scrapbook with Programs up to 1915-1916," 31.

⁶ Odell Shepard, *The Journals of Bronson Alcott* (Boston, 1938), 428.

night, to a large and intelligent audience. He had been advertised as "the profoundest thinker in America." It was said that some British writer—an irony we presume—had so spoken of him. But like most of these professional lecturers from the Hub, or thereabout, Mr. Emerson shows that he has read, a great deal more than he has thought. His lecture was literally a *hash* from what he had read, and not a production coined from the mint of the brain. Any man who has read considerably, or has access to any of the standard Encyclopedias, and possesses the capacity to write fair English, can get up just as good a lecture as was Mr. Emerson's, and it would not amount to much if it were not a good deal better. His subject, "the man of the world," meant anything he might choose to make it, and he made it mean nothing in particular We allude to Mr. Emerson's irreverence for the past, for all things old. It reminded us of what Prentice says: "that Massachusetts has more dead lions and more live jackasses than any other State in the Union; and that the latter are constantly flinging their heels in the air at the former." This is a part of the philosophy of the Hub.

The manner of the lecturer was exceedingly prosy, dull and uninteresting; so much so that quite a number of persons were lulled to sleep by his monotone. Altogether there was a very disappointed, dissatisfied audience, who were more delighted when he finished than when he began. We can hear a much better lecture, any Sunday, in any of the several pulpits in this city.⁷

While people like Emerson and Alcott had much to do with stimulating the local mind throughout the West, there were some individuals who had sufficient generating power of their own and these were chiefly responsible for the continued interest in philosophical subjects long after one-night lecturers had come and gone. The first of these, as far as Quincy was concerned, was Mrs. Sarah Denman (1808-1882), the founder of Friends in Council and benefactor both of that organization and other civic enterprises including the hospital which for many years bore her name. Mrs. Denman was born in New Haven, and was married in 1826 to Mathew B. Denman. They removed to Philadelphia where they

⁷ *Quincy Herald*, Feb. 28, 1867.

remained until moving to Quincy in 1842. Mr. Denman was a land agent and a man of means. Mrs. Denman was a feminist and humanitarian. During her life in Quincy there was not a civic enterprise which escaped her attention or failed to receive her benefactions. Her feminism was not of the crusading variety, but was instead of a more restrained although none the less concrete type. She was instrumental in the proposal to hold a women's suffrage convention in Quincy in 1869; the project was given serious attention but never carried out. In 1870, along with many other Quincy women, she signed a petition which was sent to Congress asking for legislation providing for equal rights for women. In a way, the inauguration of the women's club movement in the 1860's was a response to this feminist appeal and served both to prepare women more adequately for these rights and to give organizational support for them. Philosophy had its first group appeal in Quincy through a women's club, one which Mrs. Denman founded.

Friends in Council, the organization in question, was founded in 1866, although it did not receive its charter until 1869. It was one of the first women's clubs in the United States, Sorosis of New York and Jacksonville probably being the only ones to precede it. It was the first women's club to own a building of its own, a gift from Mrs. Denman in 1878 and still in use on the grounds of The Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County. From Quincy, Friends in Council spread to Lawrence, Kansas; Berlin, Wisconsin; Marquette, Michigan; Burlington and Rutland, Vermont and elsewhere. As one of the early women's clubs it exercised a remarkable cultural influence upon the maturing feminine mind in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Mrs. Denman's home was the scene of inauguration for Friends in Council. Through her invitation twelve Quincy women gathered on November 16, 1866 for the purpose of reading valuable books together. It was essentially a reading club, for the members believed that they could get more by communal reading than by doing it in isolation. Evidence of the sense of feminine independence characteristic of the group is to be found in the names suggested for the organization; they included The Protestant Club, The Nondescript Club, The Embryonic Free and Independent Anti-Red-Tape Society. Prominent in this group were Mrs. Denman, Mrs. C. H. Bull, Miss Louise Fuller, Mrs. Lorenzo Bull, and Mrs. James Woodruff. Other early members of interest were Miss Lizzie G. Bull, Mrs. Anna B. McMahan, Mrs. Rose Nelson Clapp, Mrs. John McFadon, Miss Cora A. Benneson and Mrs. S. H. Emery, Jr. It was decided at the first meeting that they should meet once a week and they set about immediately to the reading and study of Lecky's *History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe*. In sixteen weeks they finished the two volumes and then turned to Lydia M. Child's *Progress of Religious Ideas* which was completed in thirteen more weeks. In regard to this first year of study Mrs. Denman later wrote:

How much information we gained and how much our world enlarged in the course of that travel through the ages, it would be difficult to say. It is well to have the soul widen toward the past, to know the record of our long descent and become conscious of the life that was as well as that which is.⁸

During the second year the group turned to the reading of the Platonic dialogues at the end of which there

⁸ "Outline of the History of Friends in Council, Quincy, Illinois," 5.

seemed to be some question as to the advisability of continuing to read Plato because some found him difficult to interpret. The third year they started out on Epictetus but soon returned to Plato and continued with him for a second year. After two years with Plato Mrs. Denman could say:

I think at our parting we were ready to adopt Buckle's idea, "that mental pleasures are more ennobling than physical ones." We regretted that we could not together finish the work, but accepted the idea that "by enlarged intellectual culture, especially by philosophical studies, the mind at last comes to pursue truth for its own sake; to esteem it a duty to emancipate ourselves from party spirit, prejudice and passion and to cultivate love of truth, tolerance and patience through all opposition."⁹

It is possible of course to conclude that Plato gave these women the attitude characterized by the above quotation. It is also possible, even more likely, to conclude that they took with them to their study of Plato needs and desires which Plato helped to bring to conscious expression. Friends in Council was no sewing circle. It was founded with an intellectual motive and its fare was far from that offered by the conventional Monday afternoon club today. Mrs. S. H. Emery, Jr., wrote years later (1878) describing the objective of the club in somewhat Platonic terms:

Friends in Council was summoned into existence to serve a purpose other than a trivial or merely temporary one. It is an association formed by women for their own improvement, and its aims are of broader scope than such as may afford variety to monotonous lives, or may meet the immediate and evanescent wants of the passing day and hour. It aspires to the office of awakening in its members and constantly re-invigorating within them a desire for personal, progressive growth in the direction of whatever is noble, beautiful, just and true. The end of this organization is to encourage and stim-

⁹ "History of the Friends in Council," 5-6.

ulate to the performance of such work as lies in the range of woman's best faculties, intellectual, moral and practical; work which shall result in lifting its members above that which is puerile and perishable in life to the ultimate attainment of all which constitutes a symmetrical and complete womanhood.¹⁰

To get even more perspective on the club and its purpose it is well to refer to the account which Miss Mary B. Bull wrote of it in 1916. In this she paid tribute to Mrs. Denman but at the same time described the essential purpose of the organization:

Looking back after the lapse of years, Mrs. Denman appears as one of the leaders in the important movements of the day, especially in advancing the higher education of women. She discerned the need in women's lives of intellectual interests and opportunity for individual culture, not only for the enrichment of the personal life, but as a preparation for greater usefulness. . . . Her reliance upon the inner forces, was the power which moulded the Society in its plastic days. To her clear purpose with its firm renouncements, stamping its ineffaceable impression upon Friends in Council in its youth, more than to any other influence, the Society owes its continued existence and singleness of aim.¹¹

While the reading of the Platonic dialogues lasted but for two full years, this should not be interpreted as meaning that the club had lost its interest either in Plato or in philosophy. It was not until the 1890's that philosophy began to take a back seat in the estimation of the members of Friends in Council. Alcott appeared before the club on numerous occasions while visiting either the Lorenzo Bulls or the Denmans and special sessions were held in his honor. Hiram K. Jones was a frequent visitor, often staying two or more weeks at a time visiting the Denmans. Papers on Plato and Neo Platonism were read and philosophy in its various forms

¹⁰ "History of the Friends in Council," 7.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 18.

played an influential role even when other subjects, literary, artistic and historical, were added. Part of the program for two years was given over to the study of Cousin's *History of Modern Philosophy*. One year "The Relation between Mind and Body" occupied its attention. In 1877-1878 the time was spent on the philosophy of history. One section in 1888-1889 was devoted to the study of English thinkers and in 1889-1890 to evolution as represented in the works of Haeckel, Darwin, Huxley and Spencer. Somewhat characteristic was the program of 1879-1880 devoted to modern science in which the following topics were considered: Method of Science (Mill, Whewell, Jevons), Definition and Object of Physics, Theories concerning the Ultimate Structure of Matter, The New Chemistry, Biology (Cook, Le Conte, Tyndall), The Descent of Life (Darwin, Haeckel, Galton, Huxley, Mivart), Mental Physiology (Lewes, Bain, Martineau, Lotze), Cosmogony (Spencer, Huxley), The Theistic Philosophy of Evolution (Gray).

The intellectual quality of the group is also demonstrated by the type of product which came out of it. Let me refer to but two of the members, Mrs. Anna B. McMahan and Cora A. Benneson. Mrs. McMahan, a graduate of Bryn Mawr, became a lecturer on English literature, wrote books on Wordsworth, Byron and Shelley, contributed to literary journals, and served as an editorial writer for the *Chicago Tribune* after her husband died.¹² Miss Benneson was a graduate of the University of Michigan (undergraduate friend of Alice Freeman Palmer) with A.B., M.A., and LL.B. degrees. She was admitted to the bar in both Michigan and Illinois but finally settled in Cambridge, Massachusetts. In addition

¹² Orie Latham Hatcher, *Anna B. McMahan*. Privately printed in pamphlet form.

to writing for magazines she read occasional papers before the American Association for the Advancement of Science ("Executive Discretion in the United States," "Federal Guarantees for Maintaining Republican Government in the States," and "The Power of our Courts to Interpret the Constitution" were among them) and was made secretary of the Social and Economic Science Section in 1900.¹³ Detailed information is lacking on many other members of Friends in Council, but the record of the two mentioned is symptomatic of the quality of minds which the organization produced. It should be clear by now that Friends in Council was an organization with serious intent and is not to be confused with its modern descendants, limited in large part to pink tea discussions often concerned only with superficial consideration of secondary problems. Not only was their intent serious; it was aimed at the development of a philosophical point of view which each member could develop for herself. Characteristic of this independence of judgment is the following quotation from a short paper on "Sacrifice" which Mrs. John McFadon read to the group some time during the 1870's:

As this is a good place to air one's opinions, I take this opportunity to let the "Phil. Club" know just where I stand. I am often told by them, I can not be a Philosopher, unless I believe in the "Trinity." Then I can remain just where I am; for I shall not give up my personality in order to be a Philosopher, or any thing else; unless I can do it understandingly. I believe entirely in the "One and Many, Unlimited, Universal," unlimited by any threeness or 5 ness or 7 ness or divided by any arbitrary rules or laws whatever. I am not obliged to swallow down whole any old Heathen Philosopher merely because he is old. I believe this "Trinity" is only a remnant of barbarism, and the worship of a false God.¹⁴

¹³ Mary Esther Trublood, *Cora Agnes Benneson* (Boston, 1904). Reprinted from *Representative Women of New England*.

¹⁴ Friends in Council, "Scrapbook with Programs," 75.

It is enlightening to refer to the footnote which Mrs. McFadon made to her remark about swallowing down "Heathen Philosophers." It is this: "For all we want of any author, is just enough to make us think; if more, you become 'Imitators' merely, like Plato's poets, in his *Republic*. In this way does thinking become a 'lost art.' " There was something creative about the western mind of this period, a desire for self-expression which interest in the philosophic greats could only enkindle, not stifle.

There seems to be little question but what the numerous contacts between Quincy and Jacksonville had much to do with the predominant influence which Platonic philosophy had in Quincy both in and out of Friends in Council. The two cities had long had cultural contacts. When the medical department of Illinois College was established in 1843 two of the four men appointed to positions were Quincy physicians, David Prince and Daniel Stahl. William H. Collins, among other things a Congregational minister and writer on philosophical subjects, received his A.B. degree from Illinois College, owned and edited the Jacksonville *Journal* for a period of time and later became a trustee of the College. Lorenzo Bull also served for a time on the board. So close were the cultural ties between the two towns that in 1853 when Illinois College was having financial difficulties President Julian Sturtevant suggested that the college be moved to Quincy because of its cultural similarity and perhaps greater potential growth. Sorosis of Jacksonville and Friends in Council corresponded and exchanged papers with each other. When the American Akademe was started in Jacksonville, Quincy provided one of the largest out-of-town

membership lists in the organization. Mr. and Mrs. S. H. Emery, Jr., Edward McClure, Miss Anna McClure, Cora A. Benneson, the Reverend and Mrs. C. F. Bradley, Mr. and Mrs. James Woodruff, Mrs. Lorenzo Bull, Dr. and Mrs. Reuben Woods, Sheridan Waite, William H. Collins, Mrs. Ella P. Rogers and Mrs. Rose Nelson Clapp all became members and many of them read papers before the Jacksonville group. From the standpoint of Quincy's interest in Platonic studies, even more important than the cultural homogeneity of the two cities were the personal friendships between Quincy and Jacksonville people. Mrs. Denman was a particular friend of Mrs. J. O. King, Mrs. Elizur Wolcott and Miss Louise Fuller, the three original members, along with Hiram K. Jones, of the Plato Club in Jacksonville. She visited in their homes and they in hers. Miss Fuller lived in Quincy from around 1866 to 1869 and was one of the members of Friends in Council. She may have been responsible originally for interesting Mrs. Denman and Friends in Council in reading Plato. Dr. Jones visited in Quincy on many occasions and spent as much as two weeks on a visit during which discussion of Platonic themes was common. The origin of the Quincy philosophical groups, then, was to no small extent dependent upon the flourishing center in Jacksonville and the captivating influence of Hiram K. Jones.

In 1869 Friends in Council, after an experimental period of three years, divided to enlarge its membership considerably, setting a maximum limit of thirty-five members. This enlargement meant an increase in diversity of interest. Among other things the constant study of Plato was given up for a more varied program. In later years the organization divided its programs up

into sections for the consideration of problems common to various groups. The philosophical interest was continued, as shown above, but Plato never again became the sole interest of the organization. This was undoubtedly a disappointment to Mrs. Denman who was then forced for a time to carry on her Platonic studies either alone or along with another group she formed. Whether or not she organized this other group of women for the special study of Plato is not clear; it is probable that she did. At any rate she was an important link in a third club which got under way during the early 1870's with a number of men included, particularly Samuel H. Emery, Jr., who was largely responsible for its existence.

How profound Mrs. Denman's Platonic studies were is difficult to say because nothing of what she wrote (probably not extensive in any case) is available. That her study was purposive is unquestionable. She visited Jacksonville on occasion, with the particular object of attending Plato Club meetings. Jones came to be (during the 1870's) a more than frequent visitor of theirs in Quincy. Mrs. Denman supplemented her own study of Plato by notes of the Jacksonville meetings supplied her by Mrs. King. Miss Louise Fuller leads us to suspect that Mrs. Denman led a second group in the study of Plato during the 1860's in addition to Friends in Council. The following quotation suggests this:

Mrs. King took notes of the readings and comments and sent them to Mrs. Sarah Denman in Quincy where a circle of friends, mostly teachers, read with the help of the notes, the books they were reading in Jacksonville.¹⁵

¹⁵ "The Plato Club," *Journal of the American Akademie*, 5 (1890), 20.

This quotation refers to the 1860's and hence the group referred to can hardly be confused with the mixed club which Emery later led. The fact that Miss Fuller speaks of the group as being composed largely of teachers would seem to eliminate Friends in Council which was made up largely of married women who were not teachers. In all likelihood, therefore, Mrs. Denman had her own study group where Plato was read and the notes of Mrs. King discussed. Supposing this to be true, just what of Plato they read and discussed is not easy to determine. We do know that Friends in Council during its second year of study in Plato read the *Charmides*, *Symposium*, and *Philebus*. Whether the private group went over the same or other dialogues is impossible to know. Nor is it possible to know just how long this group lasted. We do know that Mrs. Denman was still receiving notes from Mrs. King in 1879, for Friends in Council has in its possession four books of notes in Mrs. Denman's handwriting running from 1873 to 1879. It was the writer's first thought that these notes were those which Mrs. Denman made herself after studying the dialogues. Closer scrutiny, however, led to the conclusion that these were but copies from those of Mrs. King which she made while she had Mrs. King's notes in her possession. In one place is a notation: "No notes, Mrs. K. absent." In another is: "Notes by Louise Fuller." Still another has: "Dr. Jones called for the opinion of the class on the subject of immortality." Others have such as "No reading. Dr. not well" or "Dr. in Quincy" with nothing but dates to indicate that there were no meetings when Dr. Jones was absent or indisposed. One or two are reports of conversations between Alcott and Jones and two are

summaries of talks by Denton J. Snider on Hegelian philosophy and on Goethe. These could hardly have taken place in Quincy since there is no record of Snider's ever having been there and there is no record that Alcott and Jones came at the same time. It seems quite obvious, therefore, that these are a part of the system of notes which Miss Fuller referred to and that Mrs. Denman spent long hours in copying these for her own later reference.

Something must be said about Mrs. King's notes for they provide some evidence of the train of mind not only of Dr. Jones but also of the ladies in Jacksonville and Quincy who read them, absorbed them and used them almost as a text. The available notes of Mrs. Denman are on the First *Alcibiades* running from June 27 to August 2, 1873, on the *Republic* from August 30, 1873 to November 18, 1876, on the *Timaues* from November 25, 1876 to March 30, 1878, on the *Critias* from April 13 to October 26, 1878, on the *Minos* from November 2 to November 9, 1878, on the *Meno* from November 23 to December 21, 1878, and on the *Euthydemus* from December 28, 1878 to January 18, 1879. These notes are largely exegetical in form. Along with the date, page numbers, chapters and sections were often included.

Something of the quality of these notes can be seen by referring to an average day's notes. The following, taken at random, but happening to be for the session of March 30, 1878 closing the study of the *Timaues*, is typical, being neither the shortest nor the longest, the most nor least profound:

We find in the constitution and nature of man an epitome of the universe. The trifold nature of man is also like the universe—heaven, earth and hell—intelligence, moral and desiderative in man.

The harmony of the universe is found in the counterpoise of the extremes by the middle term. There could not be harmony any more than in music without the extremes of concord and discord. The musician is effecting the logic of the universe in reconciling the two. So man must reconcile the two extremes in his nature; then he is in order, the will allied to the intelligence and the desires subordinate. The monastic order would annihilate the desires and so hell would be annihilated. Others think that evil must always exist—this is the maintenance of the duality of the universe. We shall realize more wisdom in finding the *Divine idea*—that all God's works are good. As the child cannot accept the thought of the philosopher, or the music of the masters, so we cannot accept the works of the Creator.

Coldness becomes absolute, the otherness of the heat, and will destroy life. Either can be carried to such extremes that there is a positive somewhat in them. Would it be better if the physical constitution of nature were heat only, and may we not infer that evil is a necessity? Is the universe right or is it pervaded by error? What would it be if all evil were eliminated, if man had only intelligence? Plato says that the supreme is a kingly intellect in a royal soul.

We must see the threeness of the universe and of the human soul to be their eternal constitution. We shall not succeed in abolishing the trinity. Perhaps the plane on which our earth is, is below the middle, we are more in hell than in heaven. This world we are in is the best place to seek the true, the beautiful and the good. The undying soul can go down into physics and nature; these are the instruments of mind. It is a perpetual miracle that an undying nature can pursue a mortal existence, but the greater wonder is that we can exist here immortally. The natural man is only conscious of the mortal but another has his spiritual consciousness opened and he has immortal realizations. We can participate of both. We can pass through the veil and still see only the mortal. We shall ever stand in the duality of the ideal and actual. We do not change our relation to the universe by laying off the body. The mortal nature in man assimilates us to the divine. We are not to choose either exclusively.

The unity of these is found in the culture of both.¹⁶

Mrs. Denman played an important rôle in Quincy by starting the feminine movement for self-education

¹⁶ Notes of Mrs. Sarah Denman, III: 127-29.

and self-expression. She gave it a decidedly philosophical cast through her own interest in Plato and the Platonic organon as it emanated from the midwestern Platonic teacher, Hiram K. Jones. While she provided Quincy with its first active philosophic group her own influence was soon superseded by that of S. H. Emery, Jr., who ultimately brought national recognition to Quincy through his leadership in the Concord School of Philosophy and through the few writings of his which reached the stage of publication.

Emery was born at Taunton, Massachusetts on August 3, 1840, the son of a Congregational minister of first rank. In this Emery was fortunate, for in that day no family background contributed more to the cultural development of the young than that of the liberal minister. When Emery was but fifteen his parents moved to Quincy and he went to Harvard for a college education, having finished his preliminary work at Bristol Academy. At the end of the year he transferred to Amherst and spent a second year after which he went to Quincy for a summer with his folks. He secured a temporary position at the Comstock Stove Foundry and liked it so much that he chose not to return to college in the fall. He stayed with this firm until 1879 when, along with his brother-in-law, Edward McClure, he decided to return east and go to law school at Harvard. He received the LL.B. degree in 1882 (Amherst had given him an honorary M.A. in 1870), and although living in Concord he practiced law intermittently in Boston. His philosophical interests were so engaging during this period that he did not have time to build up a flourishing practice and there is great question as to whether or not he was interested in so doing. In

any event, with the demise of the Concord School in 1888 he decided to return to Quincy and business. He became vice-president of the Quincy Paper Company and later manager of the Quincy mills when this company combined with the American Straw Board Company. He was also president of the Electric Wheel Company and vice-president of the Channon-Emery Stove Company. While Emery's business interests were many they always rested lightly on his shoulders, for he had a faculty for disposing of conventional decisions in short order. Numbered among other virtues were his commanding presence and his balanced judgment. He was described locally in the following words:

Tall and straight as an arrow, of unusually fine presence, he is a man who would command attention in any assemblage. By reason of his broad and comprehensive learning, he is a strong and convincing writer and a ready speaker. While he holds positive opinions and is frank in expressing them, he is fair and considerate in all things.¹⁷

As was suggested earlier, Emery's philosophical interests were inspired by Emerson around the middle of the 1860's. It was Plato particularly that Emerson recommended and Emery turned to a study of the dialogues with care and discrimination. Emerson was responsible also for suggesting Stirling's *Secret of Hegel* as worthy of study for he was engaged in reading it himself at the time. Plato seems to have first engulfed Emery and as time went on Hegel assumed greater importance principally because of his reading of the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, his correspondence with Harris, and then later (after 1879) his personal friendship with Harris. That Emery was no mere superficial reader

¹⁷ David F. Wilcox, comp., *Representative Men and Homes, Quincy, Illinois* (Quincy, 1899), 27.

of philosophical classics is clear both through what others said about him and through his own writings. Before Harris had even met Emery he spoke of him as a "young giant in philosophy."¹⁸ Along with a notice of Emery's death which appeared in the *Springfield* [Mass.] *Republican* and was reprinted in the *Quincy Whig* for February 6, 1906, was a tribute to Emery by someone who knew him well at Concord and since F. H. Sanborn was writing for this paper it is undoubtedly his judgment of Emery. It said:

He had clearness of perception, equanimity of temper and dignity of manner, and held to his own view of philosophy with modest firmness, without often intruding it, or making it, as some of the debators would, a sort of battleflag in the strife of opinions. Indeed, he was properly joined with those men elder in years, Alcott, Emerson, Harris and others, whose conception of philosophizing was a conversation and a calm suggestion, rather than a wrangle of Scotch metaphysicians. His very coolness and precision of manner, the fruit of admirable method in his arrangement of thoughts, gave calmness to the discussion and kept within bounds some of the wide wandering hypotheses which such gatherings are apt to witness.

Emery's philosophical library was not large, nothing to correspond with Jones's library in Jacksonville or Johnson's in Osceola. Nevertheless he did have materials with which to work. He had two sets of Jowett's translation of Plato's dialogues, two sets of Hegel's complete works, a variety of books about Plato and Hegel and a miscellaneous collection of the works of Samuel Butler, Fénelon, Coleridge, Josephus, Plutarch, Aristotle, Henry More, Hume, Locke, Van Helmont, Marcus Aurelius, Darwin, Mill, Spencer, Fichte, and Montaigne among others. He had a bound set of the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* and possessed the German

¹⁸ Diary of Thomas M. Johnson, June 14, 1876.

philosophical classics edited by G. S. Morris as did so many others at that time.

Emery's study of Plato began in the 1860's. It was not, however, until the early 1870's that the Plato Club was organized under his leadership. Although organized with a similar motive to that of Jacksonville it was more informal, kept no records and hence left no complete list of members. It first met at the Quincy Female Seminary, often known as the Misses Chapin School because the Misses Caroline and Mary Chapin were in charge. Both of these women were members of the Plato Club as well as members of Friends in Council. The club met on Thursday evenings and in addition to Emery and the Chapin sisters it included at one time or another Mrs. Emery, Mrs. C. H. Bull, Mrs. John McFadon, Mrs. Lorenzo Bull, Mrs. Denman, Mrs. Ebenezer Baldwin, Dr. and Mrs. R. K. Rutherford, and Edward McClure. The average attendance was said to be between eight and ten. The Quincy Female Seminary closed its doors around 1873 and this necessitated finding another place in which to meet. Mrs. McFadon's home was used for the most part but the group often met at the Emery home and elsewhere.

Almost all of these people had a background favorable to the study of philosophy, or at least a serious and constant interest in it. Mrs. McFadon had been influenced by William Ellery Channing when she was studying in Boston. Dr. Rutherford was a physician and scientist, known widely for his demonstrations in physics and chemistry. Both of the Mesdames Bull had received a good education and had traveled widely. Second to Emery in real philosophical ability was his brother-in-law, Edward McClure, who lived with the Emerys.

McClure, born in Malden, Massachusetts, had gone to Pittsburgh early and secured a job in a railroad office. He soon quit this and established one of the first coke businesses, which turned out to be a great financial success. Having built up a substantial fortune in a short time he decided to retire and went to Quincy to live with the Emerys where he gave his attention largely to philosophy. He was a great reader and devoured philosophical volumes with great ease. He went east with the Emerys and returned with them. He was a regular attendant at the Concord School but never wished to write or appear in public to discourse on philosophical themes. Philosophy to him was a source of personal enjoyment, not a means of living or a gospel to preach. His opinions were always held in high regard whenever he uttered them in small, informal groups.

Characteristic of the seriousness of the various members of the group was Mrs. Baldwin. She, like Emery and McClure, became interested in Hegel as well as Plato. When Dr. E. B. Montgomery took a group to Colorado and New Mexico in 1879 on a camping trip to recover their health Mrs. Baldwin was included. Not content to desert philosophy even to recover her health, she took Stirling's *Secret of Hegel* with her and pored over it to absorb its contents. She was also included in a group in the 1880's which met at Mrs. Lorenzo Bull's home regularly to read Mill's *System of Logic*. There was a real zest for philosophy among these people, less spiritually motivated perhaps than the members of the Jacksonville club but equally serious and perhaps broader in the scope of their philosophic interests at many points.

The most productive mind in Quincy was Emery. His lead in the Plato Club was an outgrowth of a significant interest in the Platonic system. Emery's mind was less made up in advance than Hiram K. Jones's; the result was that he had a somewhat more scholarly interest in the dialogues. His most important contribution was his analysis of the *Parmenides*. It first appeared in the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, 6 (1872), 279-84. He subsequently revised and enlarged it, read it before the American Akademie in Jacksonville and had it printed in its *Journal*, 3 (1887), 147-67. William Torrey Harris, in an editor's note prefacing Emery's article, said:

In Quincy and Jacksonville (Illinois) there are two flourishing philosophical clubs that have been prosecuting vigorously the study of Plato. The bravery that attacks Plato, and especially the *Parmenides*, deserves the highest admiration.¹⁹

In this early interpretation of the *Parmenides* (Emery was thirty-two years of age at the time), he conceived Plato's object to be that of showing the depth of the Eleatic point of view over against the Socratic one, based largely on the judgment that in the second part of the dialogue *Parmenides* explains to Socrates what the true philosophical method is. He saw three basic hypotheses presented in the dialogue: (1) That the One is an indefinite immediate and as such forecloses on the possibility of the Many existing; (2) that the One is self-determining, and includes the Many; (3) that the One is both indeterminate and self-determining, best understood as becoming in eternity and as self-identical. This third hypothesis was thought by Emery to be a synthesis of the first two and the real point of view

¹⁹ *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, 6 (1872), 279.

which Plato took. There seems to be little doubt but what Emery was greatly influenced in this analysis by Hegel's interpretation of Plato whom he quoted. Plato was, even at this date in Emery's career, a historical example of what ultimately was better expressed by nineteenth century idealistic thought. Emery confessed to this Hegelian bias in the discussion which followed the revised analysis which he read at Jacksonville in 1887. He said:

It was almost twenty years ago that I first read the *Parmenides*. Mr. Emerson came out to Quincy at my suggestion to lecture. I was interested in his thought, and I asked him what book to read. He told me if I wanted intellectual gymnastic to read Stirling's *Secret of Hegel*. I have not mastered it yet. Some time after I started a class in Plato to see if it was any easier. The brief paper on the *Parmenides* published in the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* was the result. Since then I have worked at it, and last year wrote this paper. The way in which I got at it was through the *Secret of Hegel*, the history of philosophy, and Plato's other dialogues. To take up this dialogue without preparation would be idle industry.²⁰

This later interpretation, despite Emery's increasingly Hegelian bias, suffered less from it than did the earlier one. Harris spoke of this paper as "the most profound treatment of the *Parmenides* that I know of in any language."²¹ It was a careful analysis and placed the dialogue in the perspective of the philosophical issues alive in Plato's time. Emery was in agreement with E. Munk who argued for a logical sequence of the Platonic dialogues which would place the *Parmenides* first. Emery's definition of philosophy indicates something of the metaphysical inclinations which he had. He said: "Philosophy as a special form of thought is an attempt to state the supreme principle of the universe

²⁰ *Journal of the American Akademie*, 3 (1887), 168-69.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 169.

and to apply the principle in explanation of all that is."²² By this time Emery had come to believe that Socrates rather than Parmenides was the spokesman for Plato. Evidently he had earlier been deceived by the dialectical method of Plato to the extent that he believed Socrates to be the supporter of positions which he was only setting up for Parmenides to attack. Plato, now he argued, was attempting to find some reconciliation between the Eleatic and Heraclitean points of view, and as such developed the first real system of philosophy of which the *Parmenides* was the earliest expression. Again he saw three basic positions dealt with but handled them in somewhat more simplified terminology by denominating them Pantheism (only the One is), Dualism (only the Many are), and Monism (both the One and the Many are). The method of which Plato approved was the dialectical, that of diagnosing the concept itself and seeing what is involved in it. On this basis of agreement the conversation was then turned to the problem of the existence of the One. Plato had six positive and three negative arguments to show the existence of the One as a self-determining, all-inclusive universal. The conclusion at which Emery arrived was not different from that of his early analysis, namely, that Plato argued for the existence of a One and also a Many, not separate but fundamentally in union in the act of becoming. The superiority of this second analysis over the first lies in its great comprehensiveness and clarity of expression. Criticism could be made of Emery's position from the standpoint of Platonic scholarship today but for the period in which it was made it was a superior accomplishment.

²² *Journal of the American Akademe*, 3 (1887), 148.

Emery wrote occasionally for the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*. In 1873 he was concerned over personal immortality and wrote a letter to the editor criticizing the position of A. E. Kroeger who had argued that only an empirical proof of such was sufficient to establish its existence. Emery held that this was impossible, that an *a priori* basis alone could be found for it, that even this was difficult, and that perhaps all we could defend would be immortality through the participation of the particular in the universal. In 1877 he wrote an article entitled, "Does Formal Logic Explain Active Processes?" In this he was arguing that the Understanding has no way of establishing the existence of motion, that Reason alone can assure us of its certainty. In 1881 he wrote an article on Lucretius, holding that the great atomist had stated the doctrine of materialism and natural evolution more effectively than it had been stated by the more recent protagonists of the viewpoint. Harris regarded this analysis of Lucretius as superior to one of his own published in 1873. Emery wrote an article on "Culture and Discipline" which appeared in *The Western* for June, 1877.²³ To the writer's knowledge these are all the published writings of Emery. He, of course, presided at the sessions of the Concord School of Philosophy and participated in its discussions. He also lectured on such subjects as "System in Philosophy." These lectures, except the one mentioned above, are not now available.

Emery's study of Hegel began about the same time as his study of Plato and as has been suggested above grew out of Emerson's influence upon him and sugges-

²³ He also wrote an essay, "The Elective Affinities," which had been delivered in lecture form at Concord in 1885; it was published in F. B. Sanford, ed., *The Life and Genius of Goethe* (Boston, 1886), 251-89.

tions to him. Emery was one of the early subscribers to the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*. As time went on his allegiance to Hegel increased although at first he feared he could never get to understand him. The food for thought which came through the medium of the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, however, encouraged his increasing devotion to Hegel rather than to Plato. As early as 1868, Harris was writing to argue that Plato and the Greeks were unable to present philosophy systematically as compared with Hegel.²⁴ This constant literary nourishment from St. Louis undoubtedly had much to do with offsetting whatever influence Hiram K. Jones could exert on Plato's behalf on his intermittent visits to Quincy. If Emery had completely had his way Quincy might have had a club for the study of Hegel rather than Plato, but his own feeling of incompetence and the interest of others turned the organizational tide in Quincy in favor of Plato. By 1875 Emery was definitely more interested in Hegel himself. He had corresponded with Harris and impressed the editor-philosopher with his keen discriminative philosophical powers. A problem for him was his inadequate preparation in German. He bought Hegel in the original but evidently decided that he could not trust his own ability in translation and hence wanted what he could get in English. He therefore wrote to Harris asking if he could borrow Brokmeyer's translation of the *Logic* and have a copy made for his own use. This met with Harris' approval, as well as that of Brokmeyer, and in 1875 he succeeded in getting the project completed. This was no mean job, copying by hand what in print is a two-volume work. Emery tried two women

²⁴ *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, 2 (1868), 1-3.

at this task but each gave it up after a short time. Then he came upon Miss Sally Williams, who had just been graduated from a preparatory school. The daughter of a circuit judge, she had seen the necessity for accuracy through copying legal work for her father who demanded that she be absolutely exact. When Emery questioned her on her tenacity, she told him that she had Scotch blood and that she would finish it regardless of whatever obstacles came in her way. The manuscript was in large folders and in sections and she was told that she would get \$1.00 for each section she completed. Two had already been completed and she received \$25 when she had finished; hence the manuscript must have been in twenty-seven sections. It was a laborious task and it took her three months to complete the job, but it was carefully done, for she had her sister proofread it with her to be certain that it was exact.²⁵ Thus it was that Emery succeeded in getting in English translation part of what he had found difficult in the original. This *Logic* came to be for him a study book from that time on. Within three short years Emery had become a definite defender of the philosophy of Hegel. In March, 1878, he wrote to Harris that Dr. Jones had been visiting in Quincy for a week and had become interested in Hegel and would read him. The result was that Emery had a second copy of the Brokmeyer translation made at Jones's request and sent it to him a few months later. It has not been possible to determine who made this copy, although it is clear that it was not Miss Williams, for having finished one copy in 1875 she had enough of such tasks

²⁵ This information was contributed by Miss Williams who is still residing in Quincy. She was a school teacher for many years.

and never again did copying. She decided that teaching was both more pleasant and more remunerative than copying words which had little or no meaning for her.²⁶ Lewis Block and Dr. Jones began reading Hegel in the fall of 1878. Block wrote to Harris in December, 1878: "Dr. Jones and I are hard at work in the large *Logic* of Hegel. He uses the translation obtained from Mrs. Emery, and I the German. We see daylight and are getting somewhat accustomed to that region."

Emery's missionary zeal for Hegel was not limited to Quincy and Jacksonville; it extended to Boston, for in 1879 when he went east to attend law school and settle in Concord he took his copy of Brokmeyer's translation with him and tried to impress its importance upon the circle of philosophically-minded people there. William James, in his essay on Thomas Davidson, referred to this event as having happened the year before Davidson arrived. He said:

The previous year we had gone over a good part of Hegel's larger *Logic*, under the self-constituted leadership of two young business men from Illinois, who had become enthusiastic Hegelians and, knowing almost no German, had actually possessed themselves of a manuscript translation of the entire three volumes of *Logic*, made by an extraordinary Pomeranian immigrant, named Brockmeyer. These disciples were leaving business for the law and studying at the Harvard law-school; but they saw the whole universe through Hegelian spectacles, and a more admirable *homo unius libri* than one of them, with his three big folios of Hegelian manuscript, I have never had the good fortune to know.²⁷

According to James this should have occurred about 1872. James is probably wrong, however, in placing this event so early. Davidson did not arrive in Boston

²⁶ Dr. Jones's copy is in the library at Illinois College at Jacksonville. Emery's copy is said to be in his daughter's (Mrs. Constance Ellis') attic in Quincy, but the writer has not been able to find it in a search conducted in Mrs. Ellis' absence.

²⁷ William James, *Memories and Studies* (New York, 1911), 81-82.

until 1875, so he was at least wrong by two years. But he is probably still further wrong, as on occasion he was when dates were concerned, for Emery and McClure (undoubtedly the men referred to) did not arrive until 1879. James may have been confused in his chronology because of the different clubs to which he belonged and which came into and out of existence within relatively short periods of time and at one of which this study of Hegel took place. James, along with Peirce and Wright, belonged to a Metaphysical Club in the early 1870's. He also belonged to another club (which may have been this one reorganized) by 1876. A third club was started in 1871 by Harris. It is undoubtedly the second of these clubs at which the study of Hegel took place and during 1879 rather than earlier. In all events, the point here is that Emery and McClure took the gospel of Hegel east and played a part in turning philosophical discussion in Boston and Cambridge toward Hegel and the idealistic tradition.

Quincy had little of the scholastic emphasis and the prophetic quality of Jacksonville philosophy. It was characterized by a sincere devotion to philosophical ideas and then largely within one stream of thought, the idealistic. It served to some extent the same need and a similar class of people as did the clubs in Jacksonville, yet it was more difficult to keep the Quincy people within the bounds of any too closely knit system. Plato was generally most influential, but Hegel as has been seen also had a hearing. In the late 1870's a Logic Club for the study of Mill's *System of Logic* was also under way. Quincy's interest in philosophy was not completely dominated by any one figure such as Jones in Jacksonville and Harris in St. Louis. As more of an

outpost of philosophy it acquired an interest in various streams of thought. While it would be going too far to say that Quincy had a truly cosmopolitan interest in philosophy, its range was at least somewhat broader than that of other cities with a more clearly denominated and elaborated point of view. Quincy was responsible for no new trends in philosophy; it was responsible only for the absorption and transmission of trends developed elsewhere and made a part of its own cultural life by the process of borrowing.

Quincy philosophy had a shorter life than was characteristic of other cities. It started early, but it also ended early due to the death of one of its main figures and the departure of another. Mrs. Denman's death in 1881 was a great loss to the feminine culture of the city. Emery's departure for Concord in 1879, along with that of McClure, meant the removal of the dominant masculine figure in the movement. It is true that Emery and McClure returned in 1888, but when they did they returned at a time when other interests were already making inroads. Philosophy did not cease in Quincy with the loss of its chief protagonists; it did lose its organizational stability and when Emery went back he went back to the hopeless task of trying to resuscitate the symbol of a passing period of our culture. Even he never again set himself to the vigorous study of philosophical classics. Business occupied his attention; in this, his was but a single example of how the rising industrial order, along with the increased interest in general and psychological literature, made the continuance of philosophical study groups the vestige of a passing era rather than the expression of a new one.

ZACHARY TAYLOR IN ILLINOIS

BY HOLMAN HAMILTON

EMPHASIS properly placed on Abraham Lincoln's Springfield years, together with Ulysses Simpson Grant's association with Galena, may tend to obscure the historical fact that yet another President of the United States contributed importantly to the development of Illinois. The work done by Zachary Taylor during the War of 1812-1815, not to mention his activities in the Black Hawk War, helped make the Territory and later the State of Illinois safe for settlers seeking permanent homes. Lincoln and Grant, like Jefferson Davis and Robert Edward Lee, once served under Taylor's command. Lincoln, as a member of Congress, was one of the first Whigs to advocate Taylor's election to the presidency. And Grant, throughout the Mexican War, held Taylor's generalship in high esteem. Yet it was seven years prior to Grant's birth, at a time when Lincoln was a small Kentucky boy, that Zachary Taylor encountered hostile Englishmen and Indians near the sites of Rock Island and Moline.

Viewed from the standpoint of immediate results, Taylor's Credit Island Campaign of 1814 constituted a British triumph and an American defeat. Yet it is now widely recognized that Taylor's energy and vision were at least partially responsible for the erection of Fort Johnson near Warsaw, a fort which save for the untimely death of Benjamin Howard might have become

the northwesternmost American outpost in our second War of Independence. Too, at Credit Island, Zachary Taylor served notice on his country's foes that any attempt to capture St. Louis (the key to American defense on the western frontier) would meet with opposition worthy of concern. The British did not attack St. Louis—and that is significant in view of the paucity of American forces charged by President James Madison with safeguarding the Old Northwest.

Sometime in the last six months of 1815 or, more probably, in the first six months of 1816, Zachary Taylor became intensely interested in clarifying the record of his service in the territories of Missouri and Illinois. In particular, he wished to show that his withdrawal from the vicinity of Credit Island in September, 1814, had been due to General Howard's orders rather than to any lack of desire on his own part to force a showdown with Indian and British adversaries. Neither in 1812 (when he successfully defended Fort Harrison) nor in 1832 (when he participated in the Black Hawk campaign from start to finish) nor in 1837 (when he led regular and volunteer troops against Florida Indians at Lake Okeechobee) nor finally on the bloodstained fields of Texas and Mexico, was there any questioning of Taylor's courage. During the 1815-1816 period, nevertheless, Taylor felt that his Credit Island record might be misconstrued in Washington. Also he wished to re-enter the Army with the lineal grade of major. It is due to his concern for self-vindication, and to his desire for reinstatement, that we now have the following autobiographical sketch of the twelfth President's Illinois service.

Zachary Taylor's account is reproduced here for the

first time in print exactly as it appears in manuscript form among the Taylor Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., except that for the convenience of the reader it has been divided into sentences.

I was born in Orrange County State of Vergia November 24th 1784.¹ My father Richard Taylor was appointed an officer in the first Regiment of continental Troops raised by the State of Verginia to oppose the Brittish at the commencement of the Revolution & remained in the service in the Continental Line untill the close of the war & quit the Service as a Lt Col.² In the Spring of 85 he emigrated to this State & settled in the neighborhood of Louisville where I was raised.³ In the Spring of 1808 I was appointed a first Lieutenant in the 7th Regt. United States Infantry & in the following Spring joined the Army at New Orleans then under the command of General Wilkinson. In June 1810 I married Margaret Smith of the State of Maryland.⁴ And in November of the same year I was promoted to the rank of a Captain. In 1811 I was ordered to take command of Fort Knox on the Wabash above Vincennes where I remained untill a short time before Genl. Harrison marched for Tippacanoe when I was ordered to the Eastward by the War department.⁵ In April 1812 I was ordered to take command of Fort Harrison where I remained untill the arrival of Genl Hopkins⁶ on his

¹ During the Mexican War and the 1848 presidential campaign, several biographers gave Zachary Taylor's birth date as September 24, 1784. This error was circulated widely by Jefferson Davis in *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, by R. C. McGrane in the *Encyclopedia Americana*, and by Isaac J. Cox and Royal F. Nichols in the eleventh and fourteenth editions, respectively, of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. A family register in which Taylor stated that he was born November 24 is owned by Trist Wood, New Orleans, Louisiana. Since there are no known documents to substantiate the September 24 legend, it appears that November 24, 1784, should be accorded final acceptance as the date of President Taylor's birth.

² Richard Taylor, father of the President, was born April 3, 1744, and died January 19, 1829. He married Sarah Dabney Strother. Zachary was their third child.

³ Richard Taylor visited Kentucky in the late winter and early spring of 1784-1785. In May or June he returned to Virginia for his wife and sons. Zachary probably reached Jefferson County, Kentucky about August 2.

⁴ Margaret Mackall (pronounced Maykle) Smith was born September 21, 1788. The wedding took place June 21, 1810.

⁵ Captain Taylor was ordered to Frederick Town, Maryland, as a defense witness at the trial of Brigadier General James Wilkinson.

⁶ Samuel Hopkins (1753-1819) was a native of Albemarle County, Virginia, and a veteran of the Revolution. In 1797, he settled in the Green River country of Kentucky. He practiced law, won election to both houses of the Kentucky legislature, and in 1812—accompanied by Taylor—led 2,000 Kentucky and other troops into what is now southeastern Illinois. This unsuccessful expedition was followed by the Wabash campaign, to which Taylor also refers.

way against the Indian vilages on the Illinois River in October on which expidition I accompanied him as well as on an expidition against the Indians settled in the Neighbourhood of Tippacanoe in the winter of the same year. In the month of September 1812 I was appointed a Major by Brevet in the 7th Regt Infy by the war department as a mark of distinction approbating my conduct in defending Fort Harrison.⁷ In the winter of 1813 I was ordered to superintend the Recruiting service in the Territories of Indiana & Illinois & likewise to muster & Inspect the Troops of those Territories. In July of the same year I accompanied Col Russell⁸ with a small force consisting of a small detachment of Rangers and a few Kentucky volunteer on an expidition against the Mississinanay Town on the Wabash which we found abandoned. In the Spring of 1814 I was ordered by Col Russell to St Louis to take command of the Troops in the Missouri Territory untill the arrival of Genl Howard⁹ and was emloid on the frontiers of said Territory untill August when it was ascertained that the Brittish had made an establishment on the Mississippi and taken Fort Shelby established by Govr. Clark at Prairie du Chain¹⁰ at which time Genl Howard had not more than 120 efficient Regular Troops & 10 Companies of Rangers badly organised to defend the immense frontier of Indiana Illinois & Missouri which with the aid of a few militia drawn from the frontiers of the three Territories who left their families exposed, he had to oppose a body of Brittish Regulars aided by an immense body of Indians on the Mississippi, a large body of hostile Indians on the Missouri Illinois and Wabash. On each of those Rivers he was compeled to make detachments at the same time & from his grea[t] anxiety & exertions to save the frontiers entrusted to his command brought on a fever that put an end to

⁷ Fort Harrison was situated on the Wabash River, three miles north of the site of Terre Haute, Indiana. Taylor's heroic defense of this primitive outpost occurred September 4 and 5, 1812.

⁸ Like Hopkins, William Russell (1758-1825) was born in Virginia and became one of the distinguished Kentuckians of his day. He fought in the Revolution, explored wilderness trails at the side of Daniel Boone, and in 1811 took a prominent part at Tippecanoe. He served as colonel of the Seventh Infantry, Taylor's regiment, throughout the War of 1812-1815.

⁹ Benjamin Howard (1760-1814) moved from Virginia to Kentucky immediately prior to the Revolutionary War. He served two terms in the Kentucky House of Representatives, was twice elected to Congress, and was appointed Governor of Missouri Territory by President Madison. On March 12, 1813, he resigned the governorship to accept appointment as brigadier general in the United States Army.

¹⁰ Governor William Clark, brother of George Rogers Clark, selected the site for Fort Shelby on June 5, 1814. He departed from Prairie du Chien on June 7, entrusting his work of building the post to Lieutenant Joseph Perkins. Circumstances beyond his control forced Perkins to surrender Fort Shelby to British troops on July 20.

his valuable life¹¹—In August I received the folloing order when the different detachments were made

HEAD QUARTERS
FORT INDEPENDENCE¹²
August 22nd. 1814

Genl Orders

Major Taylor will ascend the Mississippi as high as the Indian Vilages at the mouth of Rock River, provided he can pass the Rapids of the Demoine without great hazard. Should he find the water too low he will return to the mouth of the Demoine & erect a Fort sufficient for one full Company on the most eligable Scite to command the mouth of that River. It is believed that the most favourable situation to Command the Mississippi is on the east bank nearly opposite the mouth of the Demoine. However the judgement of Major Taylor will be exercised in the choise of a position & the adoption of a plan best suited to the situation he may select. Should it be found that the rapids can be ascended with safety to the Boats Majr Taylor will destroy the Vilages about the mouth of Rock River. This can be done without much difficulty admitting that the force of the enemy is superior as the houses stand on the bank of Rock River & the Mississippi which can be commanded by his artillery from the Boats. The destruction of their Corn is a desirable object, but more difficult. This also will be effected if practicable, without too great a sacrifice. The Corn is some distance from the Vilages but in view. Should Major Taylor be able to posess himself of a point on the bank & throw up a brest work it is believed that by means of his artillery he will be able to clear the intermediate Ground between his brest work & their fiends, & that part of his command might approach & destroy their Corn. The utmost care will be taken not to suffer detachments to go from under cover of the artillery (Spies excepted) as it is well understood by the General that the Command is not competant to Contend with such a force as it is probable the enemy can collect at or near Rock River. But while he beliefs this he is equally confident that the enemy cannot successfully contend with this command while fighting from their Boats or acting within a brest work, thrown up on Shore. Should Major Taylor be able to arrive at Rock River he will after effecting or failing to effect

¹¹ General Howard died September 18, 1814, at St. Louis.

¹² Fort Independence was situated in what is now Lincoln County, Missouri, eight miles above the mouth of the Cuivre River, opposite a sandstone cliff in Calhoun County, Illinois.

the object at that place drop down to the Demoine and erect the Garrison mentioned in the preceding part of this order. Major Taylor will as soon as he has effected all he can at Rock River dispatch one Boat if it can be done, with safety, bearing a communication to me, of such occurrences as may have hapened, and such information of Interest as he may be possessed of. As the Boats pass the mouth of Salt River, two Rivers, & Demoine, examinations will be made for Canoes which will be destroyed except those that may be useful to the command. The Boat near Fort Madison¹³ will be brought down if it is not destroyed & will not be inconvenient. Should it be found that the fatigue parties cannot work about the contemplated Garrison, without risque, they will be spoped [stopped?], until further orders, but the point must be mentained untill further orders can be sent. In the event of such opposition by the enemy, to the eviction of the Garison, no time will be lost, in giving the information. The General suggests perhaps it might be advisable, for Major Taylor, to pass the mouth of Rock River, in the afternoon, ascend as high as the uper Rapids, achor out untill in the night then drop down so as to arrive at the Vilages at daylight. This might induce the enemy to believe the object Prairie Du Chain and draw him so far up the River as to enable Major Taylor to arrive at the Vilages & effect his object before before they would return. But of this he will judge from circumstances as they occur. Should a small party of Indians approach him, with a white Flag, he will retain a part of the whole as he deems best as prisinors. Should a larg party approach him he will take every advantage & destroy them as far as in his power. Of their treachery he will beware. In ascending the River should a large party be met, every opposition will be made from the first discovery down to the lowest point on the River, to which they may descend. This command is respectable in point of force & is of high importance to the Country. Should it succede in effecting all the objects, for which it is intended the beneficial consequences, to our country, will be great but if on the other hand, should this movement be stamped with disaster our frontiers can no longer even indulge a hope of mentaining its ground. But from the officer who commands & those commanded by him, the most flatering expectations may be indulged.

By Order

I. WEAVER Lt

Actg Asst. Adjut Genl

¹³ Fort Madison stood on the west side of the Mississippi, at the site of the modern

Majr Z. Taylor

In pursuance of the above order I proceeded to the mouth of Rock River a distance of 500 miles above the highest post or settlement on the Mississippi at which place I found contrary to the expectation of the Genl a detachment of Brittis Troops well supplied with artillery¹⁴ with an immense Body of Indians which I found impossible to contend with successfully with a force of 320 men & those Militia principally. After skirmishing with the Indians with our small arms & being cannonaded by the Brittis for some time which we were unable to return I found it necessary to drop down to the Rapids Demoine where I encamped & erected a Fort to command the Mississippi & the mouth of the Demmoine, previous to which I dispatched a communication to the Genl giving an account of my proceedings to which I received the following answer a short time before his death.

St Louis

12th September 1814

Sir

I have to acknowledge with pleasure the receipt of your report of your Engagement at Rock River. You are now engaged in the principal object of the Expedition, and I trust, every exertion will be made to effect it. The object of this command now sent under Lieut. Burrows is, to escort Contractors supplies for the Regular Troops under your command. This command is also ordered to take 35 days provisions from the 10th Inst, which will enable you to relieve others who ascended the river with you, when their provisions fail, or their term of service expires. You will report as soon as possible the difficulties attending the maintaining of the Post you are now establishing & at the same time make your return for such artickles as you deem necessary for its protection and security, that they may be provided & transmitted to you before the River closes.

I deem it unfortunate that at this critical juncture I should have

city of Fort Madison, Iowa. On September 3, 1813, its commandant, Lieutenant Thomas Hamilton, set fire to the fort rather than see it fall into hostile hands.

¹⁴ An excellent account of the part played at Credit Island by Sergeant James Keating and his three-pound gun is contained in M. M. Quaife, "A Forgotten Hero of Rock Island," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXIII, no. 4 (Jan., 1931), 652-63.

been seriously attacked with a fever. This is the reason I write no more than is absolutely necessary.

Wishing you health & Success

I remain very respectfully

Yours &c.

BENJA HOWARD

Maj Z Taylor

Comdg at Rapids Desmoin

After completing the said Fort, which was called Fort Johnson,¹⁵ in October owing to the Genl death¹⁶ I returned to St. Louis and in November I accompanied Col. Russell on a tour up the Missouri between 2 & 3 hundred miles in order to cover a small settlement on that River said to be infested at that time by the Indians. In December I was again ordered to Vincennes to take command of the troops in that Territory where I remained untill peace was made between England & the United States. A short time before peace I was promoted to a major in the 26th Regt of Infantry & was ordered to join it at Plattsburg. When the disbanding of the army took place in June last the Executive thought proper to retain me with the rank of a Captain in the peace establishment which I declined accepting. In 1814 I performed in the Territory of Indiana Illinois & Missouri. I performed at different times marches on the frontiers by land & water to about 3,000 miles.

¹⁵ Fort Johnson was situated on a high bluff near the site of Warsaw, Illinois, opposite the mouth of the Des Moines River. A contemporary drawing of Fort Johnson by Captain James Callaway appears in Edgar B. Wesley, "James Callaway in the War of 1812," *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol. V, no. 1 (Oct., 1927), 72.

¹⁶ Although Benjamin Howard died on September 18 (less than one week after the above letter was written), Taylor may not have heard of Howard's death until late September or early October. He did not leave Fort Johnson until about October 22, when he burned the post and withdrew first to Fort Independence and later to St. Louis.

ILLINOIS IN 1940

BY MILDRED EVERSOLE

JANUARY 1

A collision occurs between two passenger trains of the Illinois Central Railroad in an early morning fog at Arcola. Thomas E. Tallmadge, widely known Chicago architect and writer, is killed and fifty-four other persons are injured.

JANUARY 7

Heavy snow blankets central and southern Illinois. The average fall is six to eight inches, though fifteen inches are recorded in Macoupin County. Most of the highways are open but driving is hazardous.

Town-lot drilling for oil is under way in Centralia. This is the second time in two years that such activity has occurred in this city.

JANUARY 8

Rufus C. Dawes, Chicago utilities executive, civic leader, and president of the Century of Progress Exposition in 1933 and 1934, dies at the age of seventy-two.

JANUARY 13

Due to the heavy snowfall of the past few days in northern and western Illinois, schools are closed in Moline and Rock Island. Drifts on some highways are eight to ten feet deep.

JANUARY 17

Palmer E. Pierce, retired brigadier general in the United States Army, dies in New York at the age of seventy-four. He was a native of Savanna, Illinois.

JANUARY 18

A new cold wave covers the entire state, extending as far south as Cairo where a temperature of one degree below zero is recorded. The low point reached at Chicago is fourteen degrees below and at Freeport twenty-four degrees below zero. Schools are closed in many communities and highway traffic is seriously impeded.

JANUARY 19

William E. Borah, member of the United States Senate since 1907, dies in Washington, D. C., at the age of seventy-four. He was born in Fairfield, Illinois and received his early education in this state, moving to Boise, Idaho in 1891. He was widely known as one of the nation's greatest orators and as an authority on the Constitution of the United States.

JANUARY 21

J. Nick Perrin, one of the founders of the Illinois State Historical Society, dies in Belleville at the age of eighty-five. He was a lawyer, lecturer, and author of a history of Illinois published in 1906.

JANUARY 22

A state funeral is held for the late Senator William E. Borah in the United States Senate Chambers in Washington, D.C. Burial will be made in Boise, Idaho on January 25.

The Mississippi River is frozen solid from bank to bank

at Chester, Illinois. This is the first time in twenty-two years that this has occurred.

JANUARY 23

Dr. James W. Putnam, a native of Hersman, Illinois, dies at the age of seventy-five in Indianapolis, Indiana. He was president of Butler University from 1933 until he retired in 1939.

JANUARY 25

Another severe cold wave descends on Illinois as the mercury hovers around zero in many places. Agricultural experts declare that the fruit crop of southern Illinois is badly damaged.

Mrs. William J. Chalmers, a leader in charitable and civic work in Chicago, dies at the age of eighty-four. She was the daughter of Allan Pinkerton, chief of federal secret service during the Civil War, and the widow of the former chairman of the Allis-Chalmers Company of Milwaukee.

JANUARY 27

A huge ice jam in the Ohio River has caused water shortages in southern Illinois. Residents of Rosiclare and Elizabethtown in Hardin County have been without water for two days.

JANUARY 31

A new all-time record for the oil-producing history of the state is set during the past month, with 10,825,000 barrels produced in spite of adverse weather conditions.

FEBRUARY 1

John E. O. Pridmore, Chicago architect, dies at the age of seventy-five. He came to this country from England

in 1880 and moved to Chicago in 1883. He specialized in theater and church architecture.

FEBRUARY 4

Fred W. Sargent, attorney and railroad executive, dies in Evanston at the age of sixty-three. He was president of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad from 1925 until he retired in 1939.

FEBRUARY 5

Charles S. Deneen, veteran Republican leader, dies at his home in Chicago. He was Governor of Illinois from 1905 to 1913 and United States Senator from 1925 to 1931. He was born in Edwardsville in 1863.

FEBRUARY 9

William E. Dodd dies at the age of seventy. He occupied the chair of American history at the University of Chicago, 1909-1933, and was ambassador to Germany, 1933-1938. He was the author of numerous books and articles on historical subjects.

FEBRUARY 12

Abraham Lincoln's birthday is celebrated throughout state and nation. At New Salem the post office in the Hill-McNamar store is dedicated and John W. Gellerman takes office as postmaster. Abraham Lincoln held that position in New Salem from 1833 to 1836.

FEBRUARY 21

The Illinois Supreme Court declares unconstitutional the financial plan for the \$150,000,000 superhighway system in Cook County. The law as passed by the last General Assembly provided that Chicago and Cook County should use half of their anticipated gasoline

tax revenues of the next twenty years for such construction.

FEBRUARY 24

Albert Phillips, veteran actor who was born in Edwardsville, dies in New York at the age of sixty-five. His last appearance on the stage was in the role of Stephen A. Douglas in "Abe Lincoln in Illinois."

FEBRUARY 25

John T. Pirie, chairman of the board of Carson, Pirie, Scott & Company, dies at his winter home in Plymouth, Florida. For forty-seven years he had been connected with this dry goods house of which his father was founder.

FEBRUARY 26

George M. Reynolds, former Chicago banker, dies in Pasadena, California at the age of seventy-five. During his Chicago career, he was president and chairman of the board of the Continental National Bank and Trust Company.

FEBRUARY 27

James O'Donnell Bennett, newspaperman for forty-six years, dies at his home in Chicago. He had been on the *Chicago Tribune* staff from 1914 until he retired in 1939. He was sixty-nine years old.

MARCH 2

A tornado strikes Alton, unroofing a number of houses, breaking windows, uprooting trees, and tearing down telephone and power lines. Another storm hits several places in southern Illinois.

MARCH 4

Hamlin Garland, novelist, dies at his home in Holly-

wood, California at the age of seventy-nine. He lived in Chicago from 1893 to 1916. His novels deal chiefly with pioneer life in Iowa and the Dakotas.

MARCH 7

Dr. John H. Finley, editor emeritus of the *New York Times*, dies at his home in New York at the age of seventy-six. He was a native of Grand Ridge, Illinois. As president of Knox College from 1892 to 1899 he was the youngest college president in the country for some years.

James F. Morris, Democratic member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1908 to 1914, dies at his home in Springfield. He was secretary-treasurer of the Illinois Federation of Labor for thirteen years.

The Most Reverend Samuel A. Stritch is installed as archbishop of the Chicago diocese of the Catholic Church. This place was left vacant by the death of Cardinal Mundelein in 1939.

MARCH 9

Francis Lynden Smith, state director of public works and buildings, dies in Springfield at the age of forty-four.

MARCH 15

Charles P. Casey of Carrollton is appointed director of public works and buildings to succeed the late F. Lynden Smith.

MARCH 16

Illinois oil production has risen to a new all-time high level during the past week, with a daily average of 455,755 barrels. The past seven days have also seen

the opening of two new pools, one in southern Jasper County and the other in Wabash County, near Mt. Carmel.

MARCH 17

George Everett Anderson, native of Bloomington, dies in Washington, D. C., at the age of seventy. He was in the United States consular service for a number of years and was the author of numerous articles on international finance.

MARCH 30

An explosion occurs at an oil well west of Centralia and sets fire to the well and a house nearby. Four oil workers from Oklahoma are killed and four others are seriously burned.

MARCH 31

The death toll in the oil well fire at Centralia on March 30 rises to six. Two of the injured die as a result of burns.

APRIL 2

Dr. Arthur Hill Daniels, member of the faculty of the University of Illinois from 1893 until his retirement in 1934, dies in Urbana at the age of seventy-five. He was Dean of the Graduate School for many years and Acting President in 1933-1934.

APRIL 3

Dr. John M. Manly, professor emeritus at the University of Chicago, dies in Tucson, Arizona. He was head of the Department of English at the University from 1898 to 1933 and was the author of numerous books and articles on Chaucer.

APRIL 4

Fanned by a high wind, forest fires are spreading over approximately 15,000 acres in drought-stricken southern Illinois. Six hundred men are attempting to check the spread of the flames.

Marshall E. Sampsell, public utilities official, dies at his home in Chicago. He was sixty-six years old.

APRIL 6

Announcement is made that Marshall Field IV has donated the two ten-story buildings at 212-220 West Jackson Boulevard in Chicago to the University of Chicago. The gift is valued at \$1,000,000.

Governor Horner signs a call for a special session of the Illinois General Assembly to meet on April 30. Twelve subjects are listed for consideration.

APRIL 7

Fires sweeping over thousands of acres in southern Illinois are extinguished by widespread rains. The flames had spread to the very edge of a producing oil field near Aden.

APRIL 9

Primary elections are held throughout the state. The following candidates are nominated for office on the Democratic ticket: James M. Slattery, U.S. senator; Harry B. Hershey, governor; Louie E. Lewis, lieutenant governor; Edward J. Hughes, secretary of state; John C. Martin, auditor; Homer Mat Adams, treasurer; Harold G. Ward, attorney general; T. V. Smith and W. J. Orlikoski, congressmen at large. Republican

candidates nominated include the following: Wayland C. Brooks, U. S. senator; Dwight H. Green, governor; Hugh W. Cross, lieutenant governor; Justus L. Johnson, secretary of state; Arthur C. Lueder, auditor; Warren Wright, treasurer; George F. Barrett, attorney general; William G. Stratton and Stephen A. Day, congressmen at large.

APRIL 14

Memorial exercises are held at Lincoln's Tomb in observance of the seventy-fifth anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's assassination.

APRIL 15

Services at Lincoln's Tomb and at the scene of his farewell address to the citizens of Springfield mark the anniversary of his death.

APRIL 17

Harry G. Wright, DeKalb, dies at the age of sixty. He was a member of the Illinois Senate from 1920 to 1932.

APRIL 20

John A. Pelka, Chicago, dies at the age of fifty-seven. He had been a member of the Illinois House of Representatives since 1936 and was a candidate for re-election.

APRIL 24

The donation of Governor Henry Horner's Lincoln collection to the Illinois State Historical Library is announced. His library is generally recognized as the largest and finest private collection of printed Lincolniana in existence.

APRIL 25

Charles F. Baumrucker, River Forest, dies at the age of fifty-six. He was a member of the Illinois Senate from 1934 to 1938.

APRIL 26

A bequest of \$2,000,000 to Northwestern University by the late Margaret Gray Morton is announced. The money will be used for the erection and endowment of the Morton Memorial Hospital on the Chicago campus of the University.

Both Republican and Democratic parties convene in state conventions in Springfield and both are recessed subject to call of the chair. Neither party is ready to adopt a campaign platform.

APRIL 29

Tornadoes strike San Jose and Pontiac, killing one person and injuring a score or more. High winds cause extensive property damage at Delavan, Hopedale and Minier. Another storm, at Mounds, Mound City, Marion and Cache, causes injuries to some thirty people and considerable property damage.

APRIL 30

The special session of the Sixty-first Illinois General Assembly convenes in Springfield. Chief problems to be considered are the old age pension question, making unemployment compensation conform to federal legislation, and the passage of laws to ease the tax problem in the Chicago sanitary district.

MAY 1

Severe cold weather and snowfall characterize the

weather in many parts of Illinois, breaking records for the past thirty years in numerous places. A major league baseball game is postponed in Chicago because of the snow.

A strike of approximately 7,000 dairy employees halts almost all home deliveries of milk in the metropolitan area of Chicago. Members of the Milk Wagon Drivers' and Dairy Employees' unions insist on a continuance of the old wage scale of \$48 per week plus commissions but dealers declare that wages must be reduced to \$30 plus commissions.

MAY 2

More than one hundred dairies in the Chicago area have suspended operations because of the employees' strike. Approximately seventy per cent of the city's normal milk supply is blocked.

The Reverend George Craig Stewart, clergyman and author, dies in Chicago at the age of sixty. He was minister of St. Luke's Church in Evanston from 1904 to 1930 and since November, 1930 had been bishop of the Episcopal diocese of Chicago.

The Chicago area is in the second day of a severe blizzard. The western suburbs report record-breaking snowfall in many places.

MAY 3

The milk truck drivers' strike in Chicago is ended, though only a provisional settlement with dealers has been reached.

MAY 9

Adam F. Bloch, clerk of the Illinois Supreme Court, dies in his office in Springfield. He had held this position since 1932.

Members of the Illinois State Historical Society gather in Carbondale for the forty-first annual meeting of the Society. The program concludes on May 11 with a trip to Jonesboro, Mound City National Cemetery and Cairo.

MAY 14

European war news causes a great surge of selling on the Chicago Board of Trade, sending wheat and rye prices down ten cents a bushel—the maximum permitted in any one day's trading. Soybeans lose .08 and corn .07. Closing prices on July deliveries of grains are as follows: wheat, $.95\frac{5}{8}$; corn, $.61\frac{7}{8}$; oats, $.33\frac{3}{8}$; rye, $.56\frac{3}{4}$; soybeans, $.96\frac{1}{2}$.

MAY 18

Union dairy employees in the Chicago area again go on strike when dealers announce their intention to reduce wages to \$30 per week plus commissions. Workers insist on a \$48 base. A previous strike occurred May 1-3.

MAY 19

Directors of the Chicago Board of Trade vote to prohibit trading in grain futures at prices below the closing levels of May 18. This action is taken to halt continuation of such plunges as wheat has taken recently.

Efforts to end the Chicago dairy employees' strike fail. Several drivers attempting to make deliveries are beaten and milk is dumped from their trucks.

MAY 22

Dozens of food shop windows are shattered and thousands of gallons of milk are dumped in the Chicago area as the strike of dairy employees enters its fifth day. Only a few independent dealers are still serving consumers.

MAY 23

Eighty per cent of Chicago's normal milk supply is cut off as the strike of employees continues. Approximately 4,000 drivers are idle.

MAY 26

The eight-day strike of Chicago dairy employees ends. Drivers will return to work at the old wage scale of \$48 per week plus commissions, pending arbitration of the dispute. Regular deliveries will be resumed tomorrow.

MAY 30

The old Cahokia Courthouse, recently moved back to its original site and completely restored, is re-dedicated. Since it was built in 1793, it was moved to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis and later to Jackson Park in Chicago.

More oil wells have been completed during the past month than in any other month of the oil boom of the past two and a half years. Of the 399 completions in May, 342 were producers. Two new pools were also discovered during the month—the West Liberty in southern Jasper County and the Centerville in White County.

JUNE 1

Governor Horner, ill, leaves Springfield for Winnetka. He will spend the summer there.

JUNE 5

The special session of the Sixty-first Illinois General Assembly adjourns sine die.

JUNE 7

Colonel A. C. Millspaugh dies in Springfield after serving forty years in the service of the state. Since January 1, 1917, he had held the position of chief clerk in the office of the Secretary of State.

JUNE 9

Louis C. Moschel of Pekin dies at the age of sixty-one. He was a trustee of the University of Illinois.

JUNE 11

The Chicago Board of Trade abolishes the minimum prices on grain futures which were established in May when wheat values were falling rapidly. The new order will be effective on June 14.

JUNE 12

Governor Horner signs several bills passed at the special session of the legislature, recently adjourned. They include the following: Provision for increasing the maximum old age pension payments from \$30 to \$40 per month and an appropriation of \$5,200,000 for old age assistance; amendment to the unemployment compensation act to exempt employers from paying contributions on that part of their employees' salaries in excess of \$3,000; validation of the Chicago park district tax levy for aquariums and museums; validation

of the airport project of the Peoria park district and authorization for downstate park districts to acquire, maintain and operate airports; authorization for Centralia and Salem to acquire and operate a joint water-works.

JUNE 14

The Republican state convention meets in Springfield. A platform is adopted and eight delegates at large to the national convention are selected.

JUNE 16

D. W. Holstlaw, of Iuka, dies at the age of ninety-one. He served as state representative from 1892 to 1894 and as state senator from 1910 until his resignation in 1911.

JUNE 20

Colonel Frank Knox, publisher of the *Chicago Daily News*, is appointed Secretary of the Navy in President Roosevelt's cabinet.

Governor Horner signs the bill authorizing counties to issue revenue bonds for construction of processing plants to de-smoke coal. This will permit the use of Illinois coal in cities having anti-smoke ordinances.

JUNE 22

The Democratic Party holds its state convention in Springfield. A platform is adopted and thirty-two delegates at large are named to the national convention. Each delegate will have one-fourth of a vote.

JUNE 24

Burnett M. Chipperfield, retired adjutant general of the Illinois National Guard and lawyer, dies at his home

in Canton at the age of seventy. He was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives, 1902-1904 and 1906-1912, and of Congress, 1914-1916 and 1928-1932.

Largest initial production of oil in Illinois is recorded with the announcement that the Gulf Refining Company's No. 5 Felton well flows 12,003 barrels in twenty-four hours. It is located in the Centralia field.

JUNE 30

Captain John E. Andrew, national commander of the G.A.R. and former commander in Illinois, dies in Quincy at the age of ninety-two. He was superintendent of the Illinois Soldiers' and Sailors' Home in Quincy for a number of years.

A new production record for Illinois oil wells is made in June with an estimated total output of 14,652,000 barrels for the month. New pools were opened this month near Irvington in Washington County and near Maud in Wabash County.

JULY 4

The American Negro Exposition opens at the Coliseum in Chicago and will continue until September 2. The progress of the Negro during the seventy-five years since emancipation is traced in various exhibits.

Illinois sets a new safety record for the Independence Day holiday. No automobile traffic fatalities and no deaths caused by fireworks are reported.

JULY 6

Martin J. O'Brien, public administrator of Cook County since 1935, dies near Minocqua, Wisconsin

following a boating accident. He was sixty-eight years old.

JULY 7

Robert P. Durham, president of the Macdonald Engineering Company, dies in Chicago at the age of sixty. He specialized in grain elevator engineering.

JULY 9

Joseph W. Rickert, Waterloo, is one hundred years old. He has been practicing law for seventy-one years and has been president of the Commercial State Bank of Waterloo for fifty-eight years.

JULY 10

Dr. Austin A. Hayden, secretary of the board of trustees of the American Medical Association, dies at his home in Chicago at the age of fifty-eight. He was an eye, ear, nose and throat specialist.

JULY 12

The new \$2,500,000 bridge across the Mississippi River at Rock Island is dedicated. It measures 4,639 feet in length and 62 feet in width, providing the only four-lane span across the Upper Mississippi.

William A. Heath, former Champaign and Chicago banker, dies at his home in Evanston at the age of seventy-eight. He was chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago from 1917 until his retirement in 1930.

JULY 15

Oscar E. Heard of Freeport, member of the bar for over sixty years, dies at the age of eighty-four. He was judge of the Circuit Court, 1903-1924, the Appellate

Court, 1919-1924, and the Illinois Supreme Court, 1924-1933.

The Twenty-eighth Democratic National Convention opens in Chicago. William B. Bankhead of Alabama, Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, is elected temporary chairman.

Robert Wadlow, twenty-two year old "giant" of Alton, dies in Manistee, Michigan. He was eight feet, nine and one-half inches tall and weighed 491 pounds.

JULY 17

Delegates to the Democratic National Convention, meeting in Chicago, unanimously renominate Franklin Delano Roosevelt for President of the United States.

JULY 18

Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture of the United States, is nominated for Vice-President by the Democratic National Convention.

JULY 19

Alfred E. Eden, secretary of the Illinois Senate from 1914 to 1916 and 1932 until the present time, dies at his home in Springfield.

JULY 24

Practically the entire state of Illinois is enveloped in a wave of heat which has sent temperatures well into the nineties every day for six days. A peak of 101° is reached in Chicago on this date—the highest since July 10, 1936. A severe drought coupled with the blistering heat in the central part of the state withers crops and burns lawns and pastures.

Consolidation of Armour Institute of Technology and Lewis Institute is completed and the new school will be known as the Illinois Institute of Technology. Henry T. Heald is president and James D. Cunningham is chairman of the board.

JULY 31

Major General Carlos E. Black, veteran of the Spanish-American and World wars, dies in Springfield at the age of sixty-four. He was adjutant general of the State of Illinois from 1922 until his retirement in 1939.

AUGUST 4

DeWitt Billman, executive secretary of the state legislative reference bureau, dies at the age of fifty.

AUGUST 5

General rains and cool winds bring an end to the blistering heat which has enveloped most of the state for the past eighteen days. Temperatures fall from the high nineties to the low sixties in many places. Crop surveys show extensive damage to the corn crop caused by the heat and drought.

AUGUST 7

Frank K. Dunn, former justice of the Illinois Supreme Court, dies at his home in Charleston at the age of eighty-five. He served three terms on the high court and was chief justice four times during that period.

AUGUST 9

Illinois oil fields, with little more than half of the year gone, have already produced more petroleum than they did during the whole of 1939. During the first seven months of this year, 92,490,000 barrels have come from Illinois wells.

AUGUST 10

Lawrence A. Downs of Chicago dies at the age of sixty-eight. He had been connected with the Illinois Central Railroad since 1896, serving as president from 1926 to 1938 and chairman of the board since December, 1938.

AUGUST 17

The eighty-eighth annual Illinois State Fair opens in Springfield. The opening day is celebrated as "Youth Day."

AUGUST 21

Cook County adopts a fifteen-year road construction program which will include 172.8 miles of rural super-highways and 49 grade separations. Plans for building superhighways in Chicago are abandoned until the city or state can find a way to finance them.

AUGUST 22

A record number of visitors at Lincoln's Tomb for one day is recorded. A total of 4,400 persons sign the register.

AUGUST 25

Lieutenant Colonel William J. Butler dies at his home in Springfield. He was engaged in legal practice for many years and served twenty years in the Illinois National Guard. He was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1894 to 1896 and 1914 to 1916.

AUGUST 29

Dr. William A. Pusey, Chicago physician, author, and editor, dies at the age of seventy-four. He was past president of the American Medical Association.

AUGUST 31

Members of the Sauk and Fox Indian tribes return to their native festival grounds—now Black Hawk State Park—for a powwow. The celebration will last three days.

SEPTEMBER 6

Leonor F. Loree, noted railway developer, dies at his home in West Orange, New Jersey. He was born at Fulton City, Illinois in 1858. He held official positions with the Baltimore and Ohio, the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific, the Delaware and Hudson, and the Kansas City Southern Railway companies.

SEPTEMBER 8

Members of the Grand Army of the Republic gather in Springfield for their seventy-fourth national encampment. Ages of the veterans registered range from 88 to 103.

Use of water for washing automobiles, sprinkling lawns, drilling oil wells, and various other needs is prohibited in Centralia, Sandoval, and Wamac. The long period of drought has made it necessary to conserve the limited water supply.

SEPTEMBER 9

George T. Buckingham, prominent Chicago attorney, is fatally injured when struck by a train near his home in Lake Forest. He began practice in Danville in 1894 and since 1908 had been practicing in Chicago.

Paroles are granted to twenty-four of the twenty-eight men who are serving federal prison sentences for con-

spiracy to obstruct the mails and to interfere with commerce by bombing of coal trains in southern Illinois in 1935 and 1936. They were convicted in 1937.

SEPTEMBER 11

The Grand Army of the Republic national encampment parade is held in Springfield with eighty veterans in the procession.

Michael F. Walsh, publisher of the *Harvard Herald* at Harvard, Illinois for fifty-three years, dies at the age of seventy-three.

SEPTEMBER 18

George B. Allen dies at his home in Braceville at the age of sixty-four. He had been a member of the Illinois Senate for two terms and was a candidate for re-election at the coming November elections.

SEPTEMBER 20

Proposed construction of an \$11,000,000 powder plant at Wilmington, Illinois for the United States Army is announced by the federal government. A contract with the Western Cartridge Company of East Alton for almost \$90,000,000 worth of small arms ammunition is also made known.

SEPTEMBER 22

United States census returns show that Illinois' population has increased over a quarter of a million in the last ten years. On April 1, 1940 the official figure was 7,874,155. Gains have been made chiefly in communities adjacent to large cities and in the oil areas in southern Illinois.

OCTOBER 2

Dr. Gustav Albert Andreen, widely known Moline educator, dies at the age of seventy-six. He served as President of Augustana College from 1901 to 1935 and had been President Emeritus since that time.

OCTOBER 6

Henry Horner, Governor of Illinois since 1932, dies in Winnetka at the age of sixty-one. He practiced law in Chicago from 1899 to 1914, was probate judge of Cook County from 1914 to 1932 and was twice elected Governor. He presented his extensive Lincoln collection to the Illinois State Historical Library in April, 1940.

Lieutenant Governor John Stelle takes the oath of office as Governor of Illinois. His first official act is to proclaim a period of mourning for the late Governor Horner.

The long siege of drought in central Illinois is broken by rains. A terrific wind and hail storm hits Meredosia, causing considerable property damage. The south suburban area of Chicago is struck by a freak storm lasting only ten minutes but causing extensive losses.

OCTOBER 8

A military funeral for the late Governor Horner is held at the 122nd Field Artillery Armory in Chicago. Burial is made in Mt. Mayriv Cemetery in suburban Dunning.

OCTOBER 9

S. L. Nudelman resigns his position as state finance director and Al M. Carter, Murphysboro, is appointed to succeed him.

OCTOBER 11

The Illinois Supreme Court holds that two state laws enacted in 1939 are unconstitutional: (1) The Keller wage act providing for payment of not less than prevailing daily wage rates on all public works projects is held to be an authorization of unconstitutional delegation of power; (2) the referendum required in the Rhodes act for the payment of higher rates under the 1937 firemens' and policemens' minimum wage acts is declared illegal. This means that more than fifty Illinois municipalities will have to pay the larger salaries provided for in 1937.

OCTOBER 12

William H. Dieterich of Beardstown, former United States senator, dies in Springfield. He was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1917 to 1921, a member of Congress from 1931 to 1933, and a United States senator from 1933 to 1939.

OCTOBER 18

Lorin Cone Collins, former Chicago lawyer and judge of the Cook County Circuit Court, dies in Sawyer, Michigan at the age of ninety-two. He was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1879 to 1883, serving as speaker in 1883.

A. L. Bowen, director of public welfare in Illinois, and Dr. A. C. Baxter, head of the department of public health, resign their positions. Dr. George W. Morrow and Dr. Roland R. Cross are appointed to their respective places.

OCTOBER 22

William J. Campbell is sworn in as federal district

judge in Chicago and J. Albert Woll becomes U.S. district attorney in the Chicago district. Both men were appointed by President Roosevelt on September 24.

OCTOBER 23

Thirteen hundred union employees of the Aluminum Ore Company in East St. Louis go on strike when their demands for pay increases of two to five cents an hour are refused by the company.

OCTOBER 24

William B. Storey, president of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway from 1920 to 1933, dies at his home in Chicago. He had been in the railroad business since 1881 and with the Santa Fe system since 1900.

OCTOBER 26

James E. Taggart, Freeport, dies at the age of eighty. He was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1900 to 1906.

OCTOBER 28

Ecus Vaughn, Piatt County farmer, sets a new record when he picks 45.436 bushels of corn in eighty minutes to win the Illinois cornhusking championship at Aledo. He was also winner of the state contest last year. Irving Bauman of Woodford County places second with 45.23 bushels.

OCTOBER 31

Records of the weather bureau for the past month indicate that it was one of the warmest in the fifty-one years of record-keeping. The mean temperature was 60.2°—a figure 4.5° above normal—with 94° at McLeansboro on October 13 the high point for the month.

NOVEMBER 1

Ground is broken on the \$1,000,000 housing project for Chanute Field at Rantoul. This air corps technical school of the United States Army is being enlarged to cover hundreds of acres.

NOVEMBER 4

Dr. Charles E. Humiston, nationally known surgeon and former president of the Chicago Medical and the Illinois State Medical societies, dies at the age of seventy-two. He had practiced medicine in Chicago since 1896.

NOVEMBER 5

The following persons are elected to office in Illinois: Wayland C. Brooks, U. S. senator; Dwight H. Green, governor; Hugh Cross, lieutenant governor; Edward J. Hughes, secretary of state; Arthur C. Lueder, auditor; Warren Wright, treasurer; George F. Barrett, attorney general; William G. Stratton and Stephen A. Day, congressmen at large; Park Livingston, Mrs. Helen M. Grigsby, W. E. C. Clifford, John R. Fornof, Chester R. Davis, University of Illinois trustees (the last named to fill the unexpired term of the late Louis C. Moschel).

NOVEMBER 6

Roy D. Keehn, Chicago, is appointed chairman of the Illinois Commerce Commission.

Announcement is made that construction of a \$4,250,000 barracks at Camp Grant will be started within a few weeks. Between four and five thousand men will be employed on the undertaking.

NOVEMBER 7

L. M. Boyle, Chicago, is appointed adjutant general of Illinois, C. Hayden Davis, Springfield, is named director of insurance, and Rama H. Sweet, West Frankfort, is made tax commission chairman. They replace Lawrence V. Reagan, Ernest Palmer, and Charles K. Schwartz, respectively.

Carmen Vacco, member of the Illinois House of Representatives since 1936, dies in Chicago at the age of fifty-six. He was elected to a third term of office on November 5.

NOVEMBER 11

A gale of cyclonic proportions strikes many parts of Illinois, accompanied by snow, sleet and hail in various places. Practically all airplane traffic is suspended, trees are toppled, and many large signs are blown down. Several persons are killed and many injured.

NOVEMBER 12

George W. Warvelle, lecturer and writer on legal subjects, dies at the age of eighty-eight. He was professor of legal ethics at De Paul University for many years.

NOVEMBER 15

Norman L. Jones of Carrollton, chief justice of the Illinois Supreme Court, dies at the age of seventy. He was a member of the Illinois General Assembly from 1892 to 1896 and served as circuit and appellate judge prior to becoming a member of the Supreme Court in 1931.

NOVEMBER 21

Numerous communities in central and southern Illinois have adopted further regulations to guard water supplies which have been diminished by the drought of the past fourteen months. Hundreds of farm and village wells have dried up. Logan, Pike, Cass, Shelby, and Sangamon counties are among those suffering the severest shortage.

NOVEMBER 24

Frank H. Funk, farmer and stock raiser of McLean County, dies at the age of seventy-one. He was a member of the Illinois Senate from 1909 to 1913 and of Congress from 1921 to 1927.

NOVEMBER 30

The Forty-first International Livestock Exposition opens its eight-day show in Chicago. Thirteen thousand animals, valued at more than \$5,000,000, and 5,000 specimens of hay and grain are on display.

The thirty-eight day strike of 1,300 employees of the Aluminum Ore Company in East St. Louis ends with the company's granting of a wage increase of two cents an hour to laborers and other workers.

A significant change is noted in the location of principal oil well drilling activity in Illinois during the past month. Only six producing wells were completed in the entire month in Marion County—formerly the center of the greatest activity—while seventy-six producers were completed in White County.

DECEMBER 2

The following awards are made at the International Livestock Exposition and Grain Show in Chicago:

Charles N. Fischer of Shelbyville, Indiana, is named corn king; Francis Lloyd Rigby of Wembley, Alberta, Canada, wins the title of wheat king; Paul Francis Pawlowski of Vilna, Alberta, Canada is crowned oats king; George H. Helms of Belleville, Illinois wins the hay king title; and Beverly Meal of Waldron, Indiana, is corn princess—champion of junior growers.

A ten-day experimental flushing of the sediment-laden Illinois waterway is begun. The United States Supreme Court has ordered that the diversion from the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence watershed be increased for this period from 1,500 to 10,000 cubic feet of water per second.

DECEMBER 3

Walter T. Gunn, member of the Illinois Supreme Court, takes office as chief justice of that court to succeed the late Norman L. Jones.

"Sargo," Hereford steer owned by eighteen year old Evelyn Asay of Mt. Carroll, Illinois, is named grand champion steer of the International Livestock Exposition in Chicago.

DECEMBER 4

Announcement of a new army—a reserve militia—to be created in Illinois is made by Governor Stelle. It will replace the federalized national guard which leaves the state soon for a year's training. The new force will have 468 officers and 9,000 enlisted men.

Six persons are killed and ten injured when a United Air Lines Mainliner plunges into a vacant lot near

the Chicago airport. The plane was preparing to land when it crashed.

DECEMBER 6

The death toll in the airplane disaster of December 4 in Chicago has risen to nine. Three of the injured have died since the crash occurred.

DECEMBER 7

Illinois is grand champion of the Forty-first International Livestock Exposition, winning 45 championships and 156 blue ribbons. A new attendance record is set with 461,000 persons witnessing the show.

DECEMBER 12

The United States War Department increases by \$20,000,000 the amount to be spent on its new explosives production plant at Wilmington, Illinois, making the total construction cost \$31,000,000. The plant will manufacture TNT, DNT, and tetryl.

DECEMBER 16

The Illinois Supreme Court declares unconstitutional the law requiring payment of a \$25 title investigation fee on new automobiles purchased outside the state. It also rules that the merger of Wilmette and "No Man's Land," approved by the legislature in 1939, is invalid. "No Man's Land" lies between Wilmette and Kenilworth, north of Chicago.

DECEMBER 26

August Eugene Staley, Sr., founder of the Staley Manufacturing Company in Decatur, dies at his winter home in Miami, Florida, at the age of seventy-three. He was a pioneer in corn and soybean processing industries.

DECEMBER 31

For the second consecutive year, oil produced in Illinois exceeds the coal yield in value. A total of 146,700,000 barrels of oil was produced in the state during the past year, with an estimated value of \$160,000,000. Approximately 3,900 new wells were completed, 3,160 of them producers, at an average depth of 2,500 feet. Six new counties and thirty new pools were added to the oil map during the year. There are now twenty-one oil producing counties in Illinois.

A new attendance record at Illinois' state parks was made during the past year, with 4,500,000 visitors registered. The acreage of all state parks now totals about 17,000 acres.

HISTORICAL NOTES

A PROTEST AND A REPLY

Editor of Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society:

In the September issue of your *Journal* Mr. Emerson Hinchliff has written a very creditable critical review of the famous Reaper Case. May I say a few words in connection with this matter, so far as it relates to his reference to William P. Wood?

I regret that Mr. Hinchliff starts out by using a derogatory expression. "Otto Eisenschiml," he writes, "in *Why Was Lincoln Murdered?* . . . swallows the story, hook, line, and sinker." Both Mr. Hinchliff and myself are, I believe, trying to ferret out historical truths and would rather find them than be right. I know I would. Where and when I am wrong, I shall gratefully acknowledge it, as will be shown later. Then why not keep this discussion free from remarks that might give personal offense?

Mr. Hinchliff doubts Wood's confession in regard to the changed model, which played a part in the Reaper Case, because Flower bought the story from the former pattern maker when the latter was over eighty years old and in financial distress. I question whether Mr. Wood in his last days would have deliberately invented a dishonorable tale to pay a note for \$45, which apparently was uncollectible and might have entailed at worst an unenforceable judgment. What carries more weight with me is that it was Flower who told of the attempted fraud. Flower was Stanton's most ardent panegyrist. The story had not been recorded before and is anything but flattering to his hero. For this reason I take it seriously. There was no need for Flower to "drag in" the unsavory confession at all, and he scarcely would have done so unless he was certain in his own mind that it was true. He probably feared that the truth would come out sooner or later anyway, and that it was preferable to have it come to the public through a friendly reporter who absolved Stanton from all blame.

Professor William T. Hutchinson, whom both Mr. Hinchliff and this writer recognize as a careful historian, also "swallowed" the

story, even if Mr. Hinchliff observes that he "dismissed the whole thing in a footnote"—a deplorable leading remark, designed to prejudice the reader, and conveying the impression that Hutchinson looked at this affair with contempt. And why Hinchliff's statement that "I saw the entire dossier of the case?" Does he wish to imply that, in order to support my case, I ignored or falsified evidence contained in the records of the McCormick Historical Association?

As a matter of fact, Hutchinson¹ stated that there were two main points involved in the Reaper Case—the divider and the raker's seat. In regard to the divider, Hutchinson writes that "McCormick's case on this point would be greatly weakened if it could be shown that his divider. . . . had been used by other inventors. . . ." Hutchinson therefore did consider Wood's self-confessed tampering with the divider important, and *cited it in the body of his text*, not in a footnote. What he put into a footnote is his own opinion how far "this bit of cleverness" influenced the judge's decision. Together with it, he also put into the footnote his interpretations of Wood's and other testimony. That is where they properly belong. Altogether, I did not get the impression that Hutchinson dismissed the matter lightly.

Discussing the Reaper Case in the *Journal of the Patent Office Society*² Harry Goldsmith, a patent examiner, brings expert knowledge to bear on this discussion. The entire article is well worth studying. There appears to be no doubt in Goldsmith's mind about Wood's tampering with the evidence. "It should be mentioned that there was quite a bit of skillful maneuvering on the part of the defense and there are indications that evidence was 'manufactured' to show that the divider and raker's stand had been in public use before the McCormick patent of 1845 and 1847. . . ."

Mr. Hinchliff's belief that these manipulations had *no* influence on the judge's decision, he bases on the fact that Harding, counsel for Manny, said in his argument that the divider bows (which Wood claimed he altered so as to be different) were practically identical on the Manny and McCormick machines. Perhaps Harding's argument will be better understood by one of Goldsmith's remarks. "But Wood and Johnson," Goldsmith writes,

¹ William T. Hutchinson, *Cyrus Hall McCormick* (New York, 1930), I: 437.

² Jan., 1938, p. 29.

"had done a little too much altering. They put on an iron divider and had drilled three holes in the framework of the old machine for the raker's seat. McCormick's attorneys were able to show that there were no raker's seats in the McCormick reapers of 1840 and that old wooden dividers were used at that time." Which opinion Hutchinson confirms: "But the defendants' witnesses broke down under cross-examination," he reported. No wonder Harding side-stepped this issue in his final plea.

I admit that I was hasty in stating unreservedly that McCormick lost his case on account of this one piece of legerdemain; but I am not ready to concede that either Hutchinson's or Hinchliff's judgment is infallible. The fact is that none of us three knows the right answer. The mental processes of judicial minds sitting in judgment on patent litigations have always puzzled unbiased observers, and the Reaper Case decision is only another demonstration that the discussion of complex technical matters by and before men with only legal training is hazardous.

Lincoln's own impression of Judge McLean, who rendered the decision, is not without interest, especially as the future President was on the winning side of the case.

"During the trial Lincoln formed a poor opinion of Judge McLean," said Goldsmith.³ "He characterized him as an 'old granny' with considerable vigor of mind, but no perception at all. 'If you were to point your finger at him,' he put it 'and a darning needle at the same time, he never would know which was the sharpest.' "

The outcome of the Reaper litigation has no bearing on my own thesis regarding Lincoln's death. It is the case itself which interests me, because it shows the character of some men with whom Stanton surrounded himself. That Wood cannot be shelved by such an offhand reference as Hinchliff uses—a "Colonel" Wood—I have tried to demonstrate in my recent book, *In the Shadow of Lincoln's Death*.⁴ Wood may or may not have been a scoundrel, but he certainly was an important figure in Washington, and not just "a Colonel Wood."

In spite of these minor disagreements with Mr. Hinchliff, I

³ *Journal of the Patent Office Society*, Jan., 1938, p. 30.

⁴ Chapters VIII and IX.

wish to pay my respect to his excellent presentation of the Reaper Case. It is through such painstaking investigation of special phases in history that the groundwork for correct interpretations of our past is being laid and repetitions of errors are avoided.

In the same issue of your magazine Mr. Charles O. Paullin has contributed some interesting data on the part the Navy played in the pursuit of the Booth conspirators. Unfortunately, his article contains some inaccuracies and debatable points.

That the work of the Navy in this affair "has never been described" is not quite correct. In *Why Was Lincoln Murdered?* some space is devoted to this matter.⁵ It is also difficult to see how "for more than a week" the progress of the fugitives was impeded "owing largely to the activity of the Navy." Had Booth not broken his leg, he would have crossed the Potomac the night of the assassination, long before any boats could have been mobilized. What kept Booth in hiding for about a week was not fear of the Navy patrol, but the soldiers and detectives who were swarming around him, and it was only the report that they had departed from the neighborhood which caused him finally to undertake the crossing.⁶ By that time the Navy had become an important factor in the pursuit and endangered but did not prevent Booth's crossing of the Potomac.

Mr. Paullin's inspiration to consult the logs of the *Saugus* and the *Montauk* was a happy one, and he should be congratulated on following an obvious lead to which apparently no one else had heretofore given any thought. It is to be regretted that the results of his quest are somewhat disappointing; the entries do not even show the arrival of Herold and the corpse of the man shot at Garrett's farm.

Now for some less important inaccuracies. Mr. Paullin spells Payne in the old-fashioned way, although the conspirator's own signature, printed in photostat in *Why Was Lincoln Murdered?* might have been considered. Notwithstanding the author's statement to the contrary, Mrs. Surratt was also guarded by the Navy for a short time, as is proved by the report of a detective⁷ and an artist's

⁵ Pp. 94-96.

⁶ Thomas A. Jones, *J. Wilkes Booth* (Chicago, 1893), 95, 99.

⁷ *In the Shadow of Lincoln's Death*, 116.

sketch reproduced in *In the Shadow of Lincoln's Death*.⁸ In this book I also refer to the alleged "amateurism" of the conspirators, which I believe is a description not warranted by the facts in the case.⁹

If Paine actually tried to beat out his brains against the walls of his prison, I would like to see historical evidence for it other than vague newspaper stories. I have so far been unable to find any. The indications are that the report was circulated to justify the inhuman hooding of all the male prisoners. Mr. Paullin also states as a fact that the body on the *Montauk* was photographed. I am intensely interested in this statement and would greatly appreciate its substantiation. In evaluating the opinion of Dr. May's son concerning the identity of the corpse, due consideration should be given to the age of the boy, which I believe was about 10 years, and to the date of his letter, which was November 7, 1927.

Paullin's article opens up a new source of authentic information, but that it "casts new light upon some of the controverted matters," particularly on the identification of the body on the *Montauk* is questionable.

OTTO EISENSCHIML

CHICAGO, ILL.

Editor of Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society:

If I have given personal offense to Mr. Eisenschiml, I am sorry, especially after the amends he has made. No offense was meant. I admit to being a bit wroth with Flower, and some of that may have carried over to Mr. Eisenschiml and inadvertently been allowed to come too close to the surface, but I certainly meant nothing personal against Mr. Eisenschiml, and I might mention that I was quite intrigued with his book.

Especially was there nothing invidious in the mention of the dossier at the McCormick Historical Association Library. For the benefit of those who might not have gone back of Flower's book, I thought it worth while to mention that such a collection of papers existed, and it seemed apropos to indicate that Mr. Eisenschiml had been interested and thorough enough so that he had examined these papers.

⁸ *In the Shadow of Lincoln's Death*, 129.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 9.

Further, it seemed to me quite in order to stress the fact that Professor Hutchinson, whose subject was Cyrus H. McCormick and who knew the mechanics of the Reaper Case backwards and forwards, should have come to a quite different conclusion than Mr. Eisenschiml, whose subject was Lincoln and Stanton, and who could not be expected to spend the necessary three months or so preparing himself to express a valid opinion on something quite extraneous to his field.

If I make myself clear, what I objected to was the fact that Mr. Eisenschiml accepted and gave further currency to a dictum which was not germane to his subject and about which he had not had occasion to study sufficiently to qualify him as a competent judge.

He has handsomely admitted to having been hasty, which admission I am happy to accept. It will not change the text of his books already in existence, but it may discourage others from taking the Flower story as gospel and repeating it as such.

Most of my material is in Connecticut, but I have enough with me to make an additional comment or two on Mr. Eisenschiml's letter.

I feel that I could work up quite a case as regards a counter motive or two that Flower may have had. But perhaps the charitable thing to do is to say that Flower was primarily a newspaper man (not a historian), that, when he stumbled on to Wood, he recognized the makings of a good "story," and that he worked that story for everything there was in it. The dossier assembled by Flower is almost too complete, although in extenuation of Mr. Eisenschiml, I might say that it is a formidable looking thing, full of affidavits, oaths, photos, photographic copies, and what not. The obituary notices contained in it are the give-away. In them, "Colonel" Wood (I still doubt if he was ever commissioned a colonel, though I confess I don't know) won the War Between the States practically single-handed. Also from the dossier one would gather that he had not only won the Reaper Case for Manny but had practically invented his machine for him, as well. But Mr. Eisenschiml has studied Wood's character much more thoroughly than I, and I am content to leave Wood to his tender graces.

Mr. Eisenschiml is a bit unfortunate in his quotation to try

to prove that Prof. Hutchinson cited Wood's tampering in the text, not merely in a footnote. His quotation was: "McCormick's case on this point would be greatly weakened if it could be shown that his divider. . . . had been used by other inventors. . . ." These "other inventors," or the machines on which their dividers were used, as mentioned in the argument or testimony, were: Dobb's, Moore & Hascall's, Beale & Ambler's, and Schnedly, Randall, Phillips, Woodward and Bell. Wood's changing over one McCormick machine to look like another McCormick machine could hardly fit in this quotation.

As an aside, to show that the defense was successful in this precise point—at the same time answering Mr. Eisenschiml's expressed uncertainty about the judge's mental processes—let me quote Justice McLean's opinion, which I have in two reprints, one on page 10 and another on page 7:

. . . . The curve outward may be less, and the elevation from the point which enters the grain may be less than McCormick's, but it performs the same office, and in principle they may be considered the same . . .

A patent, which claims mechanical powers or things in combination, is not infringed by using a part of the combination But there is another, and an equally conclusive answer, to the objection.

The plaintiff's divider was not new, and therefore, could be claimed only in combination.

Note the words, "The plaintiff's divider was not new."

I could go on for pages, and shall do so in my biography of Ralph Emerson, but since Mr. Eisenschiml makes such a point about text or footnote in Hutchinson, may I not just quote Professor Hutchinson right in aforesaid footnote, for he clears it up himself, saying: "Wood and Johnson, in their affidavits, tell quite a different story from that given in the text." In other words Professor Hutchinson followed the official testimony in his text, and, I repeat my explicit word, "dismissed" Wood's story in a footnote.

Where Wood was mentioned by name in the text (pages 436-37) it was in connection with the discovery of the Hite machine, quite another matter altogether.

I would be unfair to myself and to Mr. Eisenschiml, if I closed without letting it be understood that I do not rule out the *possibility*

that there may have been some hocus-pocus *attempted* in the trial, though I maintain that, if there were, it did not affect the outcome. Whether chicanery was involved in assembling parts of two old McCormick reapers into one, as the defense did in one instance, or whether it was done in all good faith, as making one presentable machine out of two piles of rusty parts, I am not yet prepared to affirm or to deny. I might remark that the defense made no denials about having combined the two machines; in fact, that whole affair, cross-examination and all, took up relatively few pages in the testimony.

Of one thing I am sure, and that is that Ralph Emerson, then twenty-four years old and a very junior partner, and Lincoln, had no part in any shady transactions, if such existed. Emerson was so essentially religious that in 1859, when he had become senior partner (through J. H. Manny's untimely death in 1856, and through changes brought about by the Panic of 1857) and was leading the fight against the extension of McCormick's patent of 1845, he wrote his father, a professor at Andover Theological Seminary, that the only weakness he could see in their case was that their lawyers, in spite of his remonstrances, were working on the Sabbath! Lincoln could have had no part in it because he had no hand in the preparation of the evidence.

EMERSON HINCHLIFF

ITHACA, N. Y.

THE SPRINGFIELD MECHANICS UNION 1839-1848

The first part of the nineteenth century had three great popular movements in the United States: one was in the cause of mass education and the public schools; the second, the uprising against slavery; and the third, the temperance movement.

All three causes were popular in Springfield, Illinois, a century ago. The Washington Temperance Society numbered 700 members, including Abraham Lincoln; the Colonization Society through its weekly meetings and collection of funds sought to solve the slavery problem by returning the slaves to Liberia. Springfield attacked the education problem by the establishment of an Academy, a

Female Seminary, and the Young Men's Lyceum organized for self-improvement. The work of these organizations for education has been told. We are here concerned with the efforts of the Springfield Mechanics Union to provide self-improvement for the mechanics and education for their children.

Mechanics' unions and institutes were started in many cities in the Middle West, including Cincinnati, Alton, Jacksonville, Galena and Chicago, in the late thirties and early forties. These organizations were in no sense labor unions as we know them today. Their membership was chosen from all classes of mechanics. A mechanic, in 1840, was "a person whose occupation was to construct machines, or goods, wares, instruments, furniture and the like."

The Mechanics Institute established in Springfield in April, 1837, under the presidency of John F. Rague, architect of the new Illinois Statehouse, had a short and uneventful career. Its successor, the Mechanics Union,¹ had an interesting history in the efforts it made to help the mechanics of Springfield.

The charter of the Union was granted on February 3, 1840, the same day that the town of Springfield received its charter as a city. The charter, drawn and sponsored in the legislature by Abraham Lincoln, gave as the purposes of the Union: "Relief to the sick and disabled members thereof, and to the widows and orphans of deceased members; for the establishment of a common school and a public library, and for the promotion of literature, science, and the mechanic arts."

The efforts of some two hundred mechanics to live up to the charter is the story told here from the old leather volume of secretary's minutes in which 102 of the members signed their names and gave their respective occupations. Among the thirty-seven occupations represented were a mathematical instrument maker, a confectioner, a houseright, a gunsmith and a brass founder. The fifteen carpenters and seven stone and brick masons were largely employed in the erection of the new Statehouse. Three other occupations, each with a half dozen members, were tailors, printers

¹ This account of the Springfield Mechanics Union is drawn largely from the book of the secretary-treasurer, now owned by F. S. Springer of Springfield. Mr. Springer is a grandson of the Reverend Francis Springer, the principal of the Mechanics Union School.

and cordwainers. John F. Rague, former baker but at that time architect of the Statehouse, was active in the Union until called away to erect the capitol of Iowa Territory. Calvin Goudy, a printer, was probably the only college graduate in the group. John E. Roll, a plasterer, had as a boy helped Lincoln build a flatboat at Sangamo Town, and C. Ludlum, a mason, rented the Lincoln home, while Lincoln was in Congress.

Membership in the Union was limited to mechanics of good moral character, free from all bodily infirmities. The officers for 1839 were Simeon Francis, president; Caleb Birchall, vice-president; R. H. Beach, secretary; and Thomas Lewis, treasurer. Francis was editor and owner of the *Sangamo Journal*; Birchall, a bookbinder; Beach, a mathematical instrument maker; and Lewis a shoemaker. The first board of directors included: William D. Herndon, brick mason; J. Van Hoff, coach trimmer; John Armstrong, carpenter; John Connelly, cordwainer; E. R. Wiley, tailor; and John F. Rague and J. P. Lankford.

Thirty-five mechanics attended the first meeting in August, 1839, and an average of twenty attended the monthly meetings, held first in William T. Hatch's schoolroom, and later in Watson's "Long Room," and the Reverend Francis Springer's schoolroom. To provide funds to carry out the purposes of the society, the initiation fee of \$1.00 was augmented by monthly dues of 25c payable at the roll call of each meeting. Members in good standing for six months could, during illness, draw \$3.00 a week sick benefit, "until such disability shall terminate in health or death: *Provided*, that such disability has not arisen from drunkenness, horse racing, voluntary fighting, or any other vicious, improper or immoral act."

The Union, upon the death of a member, offered \$20 toward defraying funeral expenses, and, should they need it, the widow and orphans were entitled to not less than \$20, nor more than \$50, from the widows' fund. Loans up to \$50 at 12 per cent interest were made at the discretion of the board of directors. The Union collected almost \$1,000 in dues and fines during its seven and a half years of activity. The smallness of its funds was a constant handicap in the establishment of a school for the children of the mechanics. In 1840 school plans were postponed because of the "peculiar pressure of the times." A year later, a subscription paper

which was passed among the members and the business men of the city failed to raise \$450 needed to build a frame schoolhouse. In May, 1842, the First Presbyterian Church laid the cornerstone of a new church at the southeast corner of Third and Washington streets. The church, anxious to dispose of its old building, located just south of the new structure, offered to sell it to the Union for \$500. The deal was made, the Union paying \$212 in State Bank paper—worth but 75 per cent of its face value—and giving a note for the balance. The contract was signed in December, 1842, for the Union by Caleb Birchall, John Connelly, S. S. Kegwin and Thomas Lewis.

After the building was acquired, Michael Barry was employed at \$250 a year as teacher of the school. A school board was chosen, consisting of Eli Cook, John Brodie, G. R. Weber, E. R. Wiley and Caleb Birchall. Tuition fees were set low enough for all mechanics. For \$2.00 a quarter, a pupil could study spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, grammar, and composition. For \$4.00, the school offered geometry, chemistry, Latin, Greek, natural philosophy and the history of the United States. Immediately popular, the school's enrollment rose to 130. Until an addition to the building could be erected in the fall of 1844, the girls were taught in the basement of the new Presbyterian Church. Though deep in debt, the Union erected a five-foot fence to separate the boys' and girls' playgrounds.

The Reverend Francis Springer, a decade later President of Illinois State University in Springfield, was employed in 1844 at an annual salary of \$500. Miss Hutchins, teacher of the girls, was paid \$200 per year, and Miss Torrey and Miss Cook, her assistants, \$6.25 each a month. Firewood at \$1.75 a cord was the greatest school expense next to the salaries.

Mr. and Mrs. V. M. Sheldon were employed in May, 1845 to take complete charge of the school. They were allowed seven-eighths of the income for the services of themselves and their assistant. The remaining eighth was to be used by the Union for incidental expenses of the school. The plan of giving gratuitous instruction to five orphan children, begun in 1844, was to be continued.

The efforts of the Union to establish a library did not have much success. Inability to provide a permanent place of meeting was one

cause, but lack of interest among the members was the chief cause of failure. Resolutions of thanks to John T. Stuart for congressional documents appeared in the local press, though it is doubtful if any member read them. In 1841 the plan of public lectures by prominent men willing to contribute their services was tried out. A committee consisting of William D. Herndon, John Armstrong and J. Lewis called on Abraham Lincoln and asked him to deliver the first lecture, on the fourth Thursday in July. Lincoln accepted the invitation, but what his subject was, or what he said cannot be determined. The success of this literary meeting in the month of July was discouraging, for not again until November was a second meeting held. James Shields, state auditor, delivered an address in the Methodist Church that drew from "St. Clair," a scurrilous attack in the *Sangamo Journal*. Union members were indignant and demanded of editor Simeon Francis that he protect the good name of the Union by printing Shields's address. A month later, the third and last lecture was given by Colonel J. C. Zabriskie in the Second Presbyterian Church on the value and functions of a mechanics' society.

In its literary efforts the Union sought to emulate the Young Men's Lyceum, a flourishing institution in Springfield. The second Wednesday of each month was set aside for a literary meeting, at which some member read a paper on a subject of interest to all. Whether the papers were too dull or the attendance too small the early efforts to fulfill this provision of the charter met with little success. Dropped in 1841, the practice was begun again in the fall of 1843, the members taking their turn on the program in the order of their signing of the constitution. Papers were read on "Capital Punishment," "Free Trade," "Pneumatics," "Political Economy," and other subjects, and a successful season of literary entertainment closed in the spring of 1844.

The Union had an active and worth-while existence until the spring of 1847, when a shortage of funds made it impossible to pay off the mortgage on the building. The sheriff sold the property to James C. Sutton for the debt and interest amounting to \$235.39. The organization continued for another year after the sale and then ceased to exist.

HARRY E. PRATT

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

MR. LINCOLN LEAVES FOR WASHINGTON

February,

Monday, 11,

1861

Unpleasant cloudy rainy day. Mr. Lincoln and suit left enroute for Washington. Arose early and went to see the President elect take his departure. Great crowd at the depot to see the Hero of the Nation. Mr. L made a very beautiful little speech to his old friends, bade them adieu, desired them to pray for him to that God who controls the destinies of us all; and at 8 oclock amid the cheers of the multitude the train moved off taking our fellow citizen and President elect to the field of his future labors as the head of 35,000,000 of people. The scene at the time of departure was truly impressive; a great man affected to tears and those he loved lingering to catch his parting words. An audible good bye & God speed followed him and the train disappeared.

DIARY OF HENRY C. LATHAM
(MS, ILL. STATE HIST. LIBRARY).

FIRST FREE SCHOOL IN ILLINOIS

Free schools were first established in Upper Alton. The proprietors of that town donated one hundred town lots, one-half for the support of the gospel and the other half for the support of public schools in said town. An act was passed in 1821 incorporating Trustees, and authorizing them, in addition to the powers usually granted to towns, to lay a tax not exceeding seventy-five cents on each lot (not including the one hundred lots donated by the proprietors), to be applied to the support of teachers and the erection or repairing of buildings. This school was declared to be open and free to all, of a suitable age, within the limits of the town.

Illinois State Journal, Jan. 23, 1871.

SHAWNEETOWN IN 1823

About dusk arrive[d] in Shawneetown, put up at the sign of Genl. Washington, Mr. Rawlings. Having traveled this day about 30 miles over a very rough country the roads is some better on acct of the snow that fell. I feel fatigued and affected with the cold. The River Ohio is now running full with ice. I fear that it will be difficult to cross—Morning. This town contains 11 stores and as many Groceries or grog shops—the inhabitants have not the appearance of being very industrious, the buildings are chiefly of frame [though?] unfinished 2 of brick and a brick banking house. On a small creeck that empties into the ohio about 20 miles below is a lead mine said to be of good quality on Peters creeck, belonging to Col. Taylor of the Barrens and Charles Wilkins of Lexington. Mr. Taylor informed me that they had expended about \$1,000 in sinking a shaft, had raised about two tons of the ore which was in it. There is a large quantity of spar or as some minors call it Blossom on side of creeck hill. In the vicinity of this tract Gen. Wm. Rector owns 8 or 9 qr sections on which is Iron ore and Big Creek is said to be sufficient stream for furnace. The lands in nighboud of Shawneetown is flat. Bill at Rawlings \$1.87½.

JOSEPH LARWILL, Journal of a Trip to Illinois, 1823
(MS, ILL. STATE HIST. LIBRARY).

THE PIONEER PHYSICIAN

Whilst good physicians are rarely to be met with, there are many desperate and unprincipled quacks, whose universal nostrum is calomel, which, Sangrado-like, they administer on all occasions, and in large dozes. No doubt a hot climate requires the exhibition of calomel in larger dozes than could with safety be used in more temperate latitudes; but there are to be met with in Illinois, frequent instances of people whose constitutions have been ruined by the incautious use of that drug.

When travelling on horseback through a thinly-peopled part of the country, I fell in with one of the inhabitants, who, as he told me, "had taken *the critter* (horse), and Sunday as it was, had been to the mill, as his family were almost starved out for want of meal. There had been such mighty hot times, that the ox mills were all

at a dead fix from the oxen having given out." On putting the common question, if there was much sickness in these parts, he replied, "Well, a tolerable deal." "Is it fatal?" "Pretty considerable I reckon; me and the doctor has had hard times of late." "Indeed." "Yes; and although I aint none of the riglar doctors, I know the way how to kill ague better than many a doctor by a long shoot. The old doctor—he's a mighty smart man—often trusts his patients to me to finish them off, when he has more than he can manage." "Finish them off—how?" "Why, he jest stops the fever, and I prevent a dilapse, and we set them on their feet in the shelling of a corn-cob." "You cure them all?" "Well, pretty considerable, till of late, when the doctor got a new assistant, who ought to be dogged to death: he killed two men right off. The doctor sent him to see them, and he never did nothing till one of them began to get skeary, and sent for the old doctor; but it was out of time; the man's inside was gone, and the other was the same way. The assistant put out that same night. We did hear since, that the man was no doctor after all, but jest a tailor's man who had run away from his employer and turned doctor; and I reckon he made a bad start." "But why did the old doctor not examine him, and make him produce satisfactory testimonials?" "Well, he had some such thing as a letter, but it was forgery, and as for examining, the old doctor was so everlastin' busy, he hadn't no time."

I do not think it probable that the average duration of life is so long in Illinois as in more temperate climates. The human race comes sooner to maturity, and evidently begins to decline at an earlier stage than with us, and, to an old countryman, the natives very generally appear several years older than they really are. A man of eighty is not often to be met with.

WILLIAM OLIVER, *Eight Months in Illinois* (1843), 66-67.

A SNAKE STORY

Gen. James Adams was bitten by a rattlesnake in 1821, and wishing to obtain some rattlesnake oil, he advertised that he would pay fifty cents for the first one brought to him, and in order to make sure of getting one, he offered twenty-five cents for each additional one. A man by the name of Barnes found a den near the mouth of

Spring creek, killed all he could, loaded them in a wagon, drove to Springfield, and left his wagon in an out-of-the-way place. He first took one snake and received fifty cents, then two, and received twenty-five cents each. He then took Gen. Adams to the wagon and showed him the whole load. Adams refused to pay for them. Barnes then called his attention to the advertisement, but he still refused. Barnes then called on two men, Reuben Burden and John White, who counted the load, and there were 122 snakes. He then demanded his money, \$30.75. This brought the General to a compromise, and the matter was settled by his paying \$5.00 extra. Joseph E. McCoy is my authority.

J. C. POWER, *Early Settlers of Sangamon County*, 72.

MORALS AND MANNERS A CENTURY AGO

As to the state of society through Indiana and this portion of Illinois [Havana and its neighborhood] the reader will have already anticipated. As a general thing, religion is not a welcome guest, and, if a man introduces it, he is considered obtrusive. But profanity is considered no obtrusion. It is always in time, and always in place. Christians must keep religion out of sight and hearing, but the wicked may be as open and obtrusive as they please, nor would they have Christians cast their pearls before swine. Gambling is practised to a very great extent, and is a favorite amusement with those whose minds are not sufficiently cultivated to find satisfaction in reading or intelligent conversation. The number of "black-legs" that make gambling their business of life is great, more particularly up and down the Ohio river, and they are adepts in the profession.

JAMES L. SCOTT, *Journal of a Missionary Tour* (1843), 83-84.

NEWS AND COMMENT

Dedication of the Henry Horner Lincoln Collection in the Illinois State Historical Library in Springfield was the outstanding event among numerous observances of Lincoln's birthday on February 12. A program of speeches was held in the Auditorium of the Centennial Building with a large crowd in attendance. Oliver R. Barrett, president of the board of trustees of the Historical Library, was chairman of the afternoon. Speeches were made by Carl Sandburg, Clint Clay Tilton, Robert E. Straus, Governor Dwight H. Green and Lieutenant Governor Hugh W. Cross. At the conclusion of the program, the Horner Collection—in the Lincoln Room of the Historical Library—was thrown open to the public.

The Abraham Lincoln Association held its annual banquet in Springfield in the evening with Charles W. Gilkey, dean of the University of Chicago chapel, as guest speaker. Logan Hay, president of the organization, presided and reviewed the problems confronting Lincoln a hundred years ago.

Several other programs were held at Lincoln's Tomb in Oak Ridge Cemetery to commemorate the one hundred and thirty-second anniversary of his birth. The American Legion and auxiliary held its seventh annual national pilgrimage to the Tomb. William F. Waugh, department commander, and Carl Sandburg were the principal speakers. Capitol Post 2,234, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and auxiliary also led a pilgrimage to the Tomb where wreaths were placed by Commander-in-chief Joseph C. Menendez and Mrs. Mabel C. Tanner, national president of the auxiliary. Another program in Oak Ridge Cemetery was sponsored by the G.A.R. and Women's Relief Corps. The Young Republican organization of Illinois led another group in wreath laying ceremonies at the Tomb. In the Illinois House of Representatives Speaker Elmer J. Schnackenberg read from the records of a hundred years ago, when Lincoln was a member of the legislature, calling attention to the similarity in problems which faced lawmakers then and now. Leaders and scouts of Abraham Lincoln Council, Boy Scouts of America, observed the

date by hiking over the trail taken by Lincoln between New Salem and Springfield.

At Athens, the New Salem-Springfield Lincoln Trail Association held its fifth annual Lincoln dinner, with former Attorney General Oscar E. Carlstrom as the principal speaker. On the evening of February 11, the Old Salem Lincoln League held its annual banquet in Petersburg. Dr. Stewart W. McClelland, president of Lincoln Memorial University, spoke on "Lincoln the Tolerant." In Chicago, Boy Scouts of Troop 40 placed a wreath at the St. Gaudens statue of Abraham Lincoln in Lincoln Park. At the Chicago Historical Society pupils of the public schools were entertained at a showing of the film, "Young Mr. Lincoln." Numerous other programs were held throughout state and nation.



Louis L. Emmerson, former governor of Illinois, died at his home in Mt. Vernon on February 4. Born at Albion in 1863, he settled in Mt. Vernon in 1883 and there engaged in the mercantile business. He later organized and became president of the Third National Bank in Mt. Vernon. He served three terms as Secretary of State in Illinois, 1916-1928, and was Governor from 1929 to 1933.



Dr. Joseph Schafer, superintendent of the Wisconsin State Historical Society for the past twenty-one years and editor of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for the past nineteen years, died at his home in Madison on January 27. From 1900 to 1920 he was a member of the faculty at the University of Oregon. He was the author of numerous books and articles, most of them on some phase of Wisconsin history or on the Pacific Northwest.



The most notable publication to come from the Illinois Writers' Project in recent weeks is the first volume of *Chicago in Periodical Literature*. "This study," as the Foreword states, "is a record of material about Chicago in magazines on the shelves of public and institutional libraries in the city and its environs. Volume I begins

with 1833, the year that marks the incorporation of Chicago, and it closes with 1871, the year of the Great Fire. A few earlier entries have been included as leading up to the formal beginning date." Approximately 1,100 magazine articles are listed and characterized as to length, manner of treatment, and presence or absence of illustrations.



Under the sponsorship of the Board of Education of Chicago, the Illinois Writers' Project has undertaken to produce a series of booklets describing various aspects of Chicago life. First to be published is an account, partly historical and partly explanatory, of the fire alarm system, entitled, *From Church Bells to Electric Signals*.

The plan for this series grew out of complaints of the lack of suitable reference material regarding important phases of Chicago's history, government and industries. Often what was available presented problems in research which were beyond the ability of grade school pupils; usually the material was without human interest. The Illinois Writers' Project undertook to make up the deficiency. In the writing, however, the children themselves have a part. The writer charged with responsibility for a certain subject reads part of his manuscript before an eighth grade class and invites criticism. He usually gets it, and profits therefrom in vocabulary and form of presentation.

The story of Chicago's fire alarm system is the first of thirty subjects to be treated in this way.



Latest counties to be represented in the series, *Inventory of the County Archives of Illinois*, compiled by the Illinois Historical Records Survey are Effingham (No. 25) and Livingston (No. 53). Although dissimilar in format, the two publications conform to the pattern now being followed in all the Illinois record surveys. Included in each are a compact sketch of the history of the county, a description of the governmental organization and records system, a roster of county officials from the beginning, a description of the functions and powers of each county official together with a detailed inventory of the records in his custody, and an exhaustive

bibliography. These published inventories are not only valuable finding lists for all those who have occasion to consult the county records; they are also excellent treatises on local government in Illinois.



A welcome addition to the "Rivers of America Series" is *The Illinois*, by James Gray.¹ Commencing with an account of the geological development of the Illinois, the book describes the Indians who gave the river its name, narrates its discovery by Jolliet and Marquette and its role during the French regime, takes in the great personalities who lived in its valley—Lincoln, Douglas, Grant, David Davis, Peter Cartwright, Jesse Fell and others equally deserving of remembrance—touches on life in the river towns, and records the story of the commerce which canoe, flatboat, steamer and steel barge have carried for more than two and a half centuries.

Mr. Gray's book is a lively one, partly because the author emphasizes the dramatic and picturesque, partly because he has exceptional talent for turning a good phrase. Historically, however, he has his deficiencies. These are most apparent in his accounts of Pontiac and the Starved Rock legend, but minor instances of inaccuracy will be noticed by readers who are thoroughly familiar with the history of their own localities. The deficiencies, nevertheless, are not of sufficient importance to impair the book's value as a vivid, interest-compelling summary of much of the history of Illinois.



Two weeks after Lincoln's election to the presidency in November, 1861, Henry Villard wrote the first of an almost daily series of letters about the President-elect to the *New York Herald*. For nearly three months he noted and described how Lincoln looked and acted, what the people among whom he had lived thought about him, how he received and parried the politicians who gathered about him, how he reacted to the increasing ominousness of southern secession. Written by an educated young German^u who was not a Lincoln partisan, and marked by unusual discernment, these despatches are

¹ Farrar and Rinehart, \$2.50.

by long odds the most valuable account of the significant interval between Lincoln's election and inauguration.

*Lincoln on the Eve of '61*² is a selection of Villard's *New York Herald* correspondence, edited, with an introduction, by the writer's sons, Harold G. and Oswald Garrison Villard. The book is small—it might well have been larger—and the editing leaves much to be desired, but it does make available the most significant parts of important Lincoln material hitherto inaccessible to the general reader.



*Lincoln's in Town*³, by C. C. Tisler, is the record of Lincoln's visits to and connections with the city of Ottawa, Illinois. Those visits began with the Black Hawk War in 1832 and ended with 1859, while his connections with Ottawa lawyers, judges and politicians were numerous and sometimes intimate. Mr. Tisler's account, based largely upon contemporary newspapers, is detailed, colorful and accurate. Historians in other communities touched by Lincoln's life would do well to follow this author's example.



"While my life has not been in any sense an important one, it has run through a period of transition from the old order in American life to the new, in politics, business and society, and the story of it may therefore reflect the times in a way that may prove interesting." Thus Victor Elting introduces *Recollections of a Grandfather*.⁴

The author was born in Yonkers, New York, seventy years ago. He attended Columbia University, studied law at the University of Michigan, and then commenced practice in Chicago where he has lived until recently. His estimate of his life is far too modest, for he has had a successful career at the bar, and has played a notable part in Chicago's cultural and civic life.

Chicago, when Victor Elting first saw it, was a city of buildings four and five stories high, with only a few tall structures rising above the general level. Streets were paved with cedar blocks and cobble-

² Knopf, \$1.25.

³ The author, Ottawa, Ill. 60 cents.

⁴ A. Kroch, Chicago.

stones, sidewalks were of stone and wood. Horsecars and cablecars provided transportation for all except the wealthy, who had their broughams and carriages. South Water Street was a smelly bedlam of fruit and produce vendors. The rich and great of the city lived on Prairie and Calumet avenues and on the near north side, but "vast areas of the city were inhabited for the most part by badly housed, overworked and underpaid people, who worked for long hours at low wages, and were able to exist only by reason of the low cost of living."

For nearly fifty years Victor Elting watched Chicago grow into the present city. He saw physical growth and change, he observed leisurely ways of living give way to hustle and hurry, he witnessed the origin or growth of many civic and cultural organizations. And his account of what he saw, written simply but with skill, gives his unpretentious volume of reminiscences enduring historical value.



Not many businesses in the United States can boast of a century of continuous existence. One of those which can is the firm of J. Capps & Sons, Ltd., of Jacksonville, Illinois.

Joseph Capps, twenty-eight years old and a native of Kentucky, established a wool-carding business at Jacksonville in 1839. Thirteen years later, having prospered, he added looms and weaving machinery. From 1852 until 1930, the manufacture of yarn and cloth was the firm's principal business. In the latter year the firm discontinued its woolen mills and devoted itself entirely to the manufacture of men's clothing, in which it had been engaged for some years.

In 1939 the city of Jacksonville joined in an appropriate celebration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the founding of J. Capps & Sons, Ltd. At that time a sketch of the firm's history, written by Frank J. Heinl, of Jacksonville, was given newspaper publication. Recently that sketch, somewhat expanded, has been published in an attractive booklet⁵ of forty-six pages. Since Mr. Heinl relates the Capps story against the background of Jacksonville life, his is a worthy contribution to both the economic and social history of Illinois.

⁵ 1839-1939 *Centennial*, J. Capps & Sons, Ltd., Jacksonville Journal-Courier Co.

Another publication commemorating the anniversary of a business establishment is a pamphlet entitled *1866-1941: Seventy-five Years of Community Banking*, recently published by the Elliott State Bank of Jacksonville. This bank, one of the important financial institutions of central Illinois, has a long and honorable record, and looks with justifiable pride upon its past.



Mrs. Frederick C. Harrington of St. Louis, a direct descendant of John Messinger, one of Illinois' most influential pioneers, has written a delightful account of her childhood experiences under the title, *Ida Amelia*.⁶ Social conditions during the last two decades of the nineteenth century were so vastly different from those of the present that Mrs. Harrington's experiences, though not of the far distant past, sometimes seem centuries away in time. Her story, related with charm, is a pleasing picture of a vanished era.



Illinois members of the Daughters of the American Revolution recently placed two historical markers in southern Illinois. At old Shawneetown the visit of the Marquis de Lafayette on May 7, 1825, was commemorated with a suitable plaque. The second marker was dedicated in the Shawnee National Forest where 1,000 acres of pines are being planted as a part of the special Golden Jubilee celebration of the D.A.R.



An oil portrait of Governor William H. Bissell was recently discovered in Belleville and has been placed on display in the Belleville Public Library. Lawrence Wilson, a W.P.A. employee, uncovered the rare old painting in a pile of trash in the basement of the courthouse. Governor Bissell, the first Republican governor of Illinois (1857-1860), was a resident of Belleville.

⁶ The author, 6935 Mitchell Ave., St. Louis, Mo.

Officers of the Boone County Historical Society are urging all local clubs and organizations to aid them in collecting and preserving items of historical interest. President Fred Marean states: "Every club, church, or organization should have its historian and committee to compile and preserve records of officers, deaths of members, copies of programs, newspaper clippings, and other data. Much information may be recorded in a scrapbook and turned over to the Historical Society every few years. . . . The Society hopes that all granges, clubs, churches, and other organizations, as well as all individuals in every part of the county will consider the organization as their own and make every effort to advance its interests."

Members of the Society heard a talk on the history of the Old Stone Church of Rockton on December 9, 1940 in Belvidere. The Reverend Claude W. Warren, Rockton, was the speaker. Miss Helen Houden and Robert Marshall provided the music for this meeting.

On January 13, 1941 a musical program was presented. A quartet sang several of Stephen Foster's songs; Miss Hazel Rapp led a chorus of thirty voices; a clarinet quartet from the high school band gave several numbers; James Huff gave a talk on DeMar Bell, poet and musician who formerly lived in Kirkland; and a display of musical instruments arranged by Jewett Kepley, high school band director, was presented. J. R. Balliet, ninety-two year old music dealer, was a special guest.



The fiftieth anniversary of the annexation of Englewood by the city of Chicago was observed November 10-16, 1940, in Englewood. Numerous clubs, churches, and civic organizations joined with the Englewood Historical Society in planning the anniversary events. Special church services, mass meetings, and various other programs were included. Business men of the community cooperated by placing special displays in store windows and the schools held open house. One of the chief events of the week was the community parade held on the evening of November 13. A golden jubilee banquet on November 15, with a crowd of 500 people in attendance, was another high light of the week's activities.

The historical collection of the Ravenswood-Lake View Historical Association (Chicago) now includes about 4,000 news clippings and 3,500 pictures, programs, letters, maps, directories, etc. All items are catalogued and filed in the Association's room at the Hild Regional Library. The walls of the room are covered with pictures and other interesting displays. Miss Helen Zatterberg, librarian at Hild Library and secretary-historian of the Ravenswood-Lake View Historical Association, is in charge of the collection.



Three hundred and fifty-five members of the West Side Historical Society (Chicago) attended the annual business meeting on January 13. The following officers were elected for the new year: George P. Madigan, president; J. C. Miller, first vice-president; Harlow R. Grant, second vice-president; Miss Lois Bergh, third vice-president; Charles W. Carter, fourth vice-president; T. H. Golightly, treasurer; and Mrs. Gertrude I. Jenkins, secretary-historian. Otto Eisenschiml was re-elected chairman of the board of directors.



Members of the Des Plaines Historical Society re-elected E. M. North president and Victor W. Richter secretary at their annual meeting on November 18, 1940. The annual report of the secretary was read and proposed activities for the new year were discussed. Plans for continuing the publication of the Society's *Quarterly* were made. Faculty and students of Maine Township High School are assisting with the preparation of this publication.



Dr. W. S. Jones of Redmon was the speaker at the January meeting of the Edgar County Historical Society in Paris. He traced the history of the county up to the time when townships were organized.



At the November meeting of the Edwards County Historical Society, S. E. Quindry, formerly a resident of Edwards County but now of Chicago, spoke on "The Value of a Historical Society to a

Community." Dr. W. A. Wheeler, president, was in charge of the meeting and Judge J. R. Funkhouser introduced Mr. Quindry. Mrs. E. N. Henderson and Miss Martha Jean Ring furnished several musical selections.

The American Indian was the subject of study at the December meeting of the Society. Fred Stroup read an article on "The Passing of the Wabash Nation," from the writings of the late Walter Colyer. Lawrence Siegert talked on Indian life and habits and displayed a number of Indian relics.

At the January meeting of the organization, Dr. W. A. Wheeler read a paper on "Half Forgotten Industries of Albion." His account was followed by a discussion in which various members of the Society provided additional information about early business activities.



The Evanston Historical Society has had a number of interesting meetings this winter. Robert Kingery, general manager of the Chicago Regional Planning Association, spoke on "An Eight Year Plan for Evanston's Parks, Playgrounds, and Beaches" on November 13. In December, Mrs. Arthur Hemminger, of the State Division of Parks and Memorials, presented a color movie entitled "Illinois State Parks and Memorials." George N. Taylor, postmaster, addressed the January meeting on "The Development of the Evanston Postal Service," and the February meeting was devoted to a study of George Washington. At the March meeting Paul M. Angle, Springfield, spoke on "An Illinois Book Shelf."

Officers for 1941 are: Dwight F. Clark, president; James T. Hatfield, vice-president; William H. Dunham, secretary; Clarence J. Luther, treasurer. Kendall Mitchell and Roland Paine are the new editors of "Scribe," the eight-page color mimeographed publication prepared by high school students.



One hundred and eighty guests attended the annual meeting and dinner of the Kenilworth Historical Society on November 6, 1940. A Kenilworth historical "Information Please" was a part of the program, with Mrs. Henry Taylor, Jr., Mrs. Carol Sanborn Krum,

Horatio W. Chandler and Richmond W. Kenyon as the "experts" supplying the answers. The dinner committee was composed of Mrs. Frank C. Nason, Mrs. Gilbert W. Kelly and Miss Miriam Shattuck. Anyone who has lived in Kenilworth for twenty years or more is eligible for membership in the organization.



The Lee County Historical Society held its November meeting at the home of George C. Dixon in Dixon. Paul M. Angle, Springfield, discussed books on Illinois history. At the January meeting, Mrs. Ira Lanphier read a paper on "Old Homes of Dixon and Vicinity."

The following officers have been elected for 1941: Clyde E. Buckingham, president; Clinton Fahrney, vice-president; Mrs. Frances G. Goe, secretary; and Mrs. Ira Lanphier, treasurer.



"Pioneer Families Night" was observed by the Macon County Historical Society at Decatur on December 12. Frank E. Sawyer, Forsyth, whose grandfather and grandmother, John and Elizabeth Sawyer, settled near Decatur in 1834, told numerous incidents in the lives of early settlers. Judd Traughber, Mt. Zion, spoke of the days of a hundred years ago when his grandfather, Henry Traughber, was a resident of the community. The evening's reminiscences were concluded by Dean S. McGaughey, Mt. Zion, whose grandfather, King Smith, settled in the Mt. Zion neighborhood about 1850.



The annual meeting of the Madison County Historical Society was held on December 7 in Edwardsville. Lee S. Dorsey, of Moro, spoke on "Now and Then" and Mrs. Arthur Hemminger, of the State Division of Parks and Memorials, presented a pictorial tour of Illinois state parks. Douglas E. Dale, secretary, and Mrs. Annie C. W. Burton, historian, made their annual reports. John Leef, Highland, presented to the Society a large American flag which was used in the Blaine-Logan campaign in 1884.

All the officers of the Society were re-elected. They include: H. P. S. Smith, president; Mrs. Mark Henson, first vice-president; Norman G. Flagg, second vice-president; Douglas E. Dale, secretary; E. W. Ellis, treasurer; Mrs. Annie C. W. Burton, historian; Herbert C. Crocker and Norman G. Flagg, program committee. Six directors were re-elected: C. H. Dorris, Gilson Brown, J. R. Sutter, Norman G. Flagg, E. W. Ellis, and Douglas E. Dale. John Leef and A. F. Ludwig were also elected directors to fill two vacancies on the board.



The importance of cattle raising in Morgan County in the early days was emphasized in a recent speech by Dr. C. P. McClelland. His address, "The Cattlemen of Morgan County," was made to members of the Morgan County Historical Society meeting in Jacksonville in November, 1940, and will be published in an early number of this *Journal*.

At the January meeting of the Society Mrs. Henry W. English read a paper on "The Names of Streets in Jacksonville." At this meeting, announcement was made of prizes which will be awarded for essays on Morgan County history. Essays must be entered not later than June 1, 1941 and may be submitted by anyone, regardless of place of residence. There will be a first prize of \$15, second prize of \$10, and five prizes of \$5 each.

At the business session, M. C. Hook presented to the Society a map of Jacksonville which was published in 1854 and Mrs. Henry W. English presented a copy of the plat of Jacksonville, made from the original drawn by Johnston Shelton in 1825. The following officers were elected for 1941: Dr. Carl E. Black, president; F. J. Heinel, vice-president; Fidelia Abbott, secretary; Mrs. Henry W. English, treasurer; and Dorothy Hiatt, custodian.



Development of some of the early industries and institutions of Peoria has been studied recently by several Peoria citizens. At the November, 1940 meeting of the Peoria Historical Society three papers showing the results of some of this research were read. J. J.

Lavengood spoke on "Peoria's Oldest Lumber Firm;" Mrs. Nana E. Stitely told of "Peoria's Old People's Homes;" and G. R. Barnett described "The Brickyards of the Fifties."

At the January meeting of the Society, the history of Peoria newspapers was discussed by Ernest E. East; A. R. Buis spoke on early Peoria inns and taverns; and Miss Josephine Dodge recalled the work of Neighborhood House, founded in 1896. Miss Naomi Lagron presided at the meeting.



The reorganized St. Clair County Historical Society met in Belleville on December 9. L. N. Nick Perrin, president, presented to the Society a memorial in honor of his father, the late J. Nick Perrin. Dr. R. M. Adams, St. Louis, gave an illustrated lecture on "Pre-Historic Burial Grounds."



A letter which Ulysses S. Grant wrote in 1880 to Judge Colostin D. Myers of Bloomington has been presented to the McLean County Historical Society. A pitcher made by Clews in England to commemorate the visit of Marquis de Lafayette to this county in 1824 was also acquired recently. Both articles came to the Society from the estate of Mrs. Myers, widow of Judge Myers.

At the annual meeting of the McLean County Society on January 22 the following officers and directors were elected: Wayne C. Townley, president; J. L. Hasbrouck, first vice-president; Mrs. John McBarnes, second vice-president; Charles C. Wagner, third vice-president; Louis L. Williams, treasurer; the Reverend Loyal M. Thompson, chaplain; Miss Beulah Butler, librarian; Elias W. Rolley, secretary; William B. Brigham, Campbell Holton, Dr. D. D. Raber, Lyman R. Tay, Fred Salkeld, Preston Ensign, and William W. Wallis, directors.

The rooms of the Society, located in the McBarnes Memorial Building in Bloomington, have been redecorated and the exhibits have been rearranged. Museum and library are used by many people throughout the year.

A Winnebago County Historical Society has been organized by an enthusiastic group of citizens of that county who wish to record and preserve the history of their community. At a meeting held in Rockford in January the following officers were elected for the new organization: J. B. Whitehead, president; Earl F. Elliot, first vice-president; Sarah Marks, second vice-president; Dr. Isabel Abbott, secretary; Floyd J. Able, assistant secretary; Sumner Miller, treasurer; Frank E. Edmison, assistant treasurer; Jane P. Hubbell, historian; Charles E. Herrick, curator; Marie Crotty, assistant curator; John H. Page, attorney. Thirty-four people have consented to serve on the first board of directors.

It is hoped that hundreds of members will be obtained, representing all parts of the county. Dues will be \$1.00 annually. One of the goals of the organization is establishment of a county historical museum.



An illustrated lecture on Sweden was presented in Rockford on January 30 and 31 by Russell Wright, under the auspices of the Swedish Historical Society and the Federated Lutheran Brotherhoods of Rockford. Arvid V. Peterson, president of the latter organization, introduced the speaker on the opening night, and Dr. E. C. Bloomquist, Swedish Historical Society president, presided on the second evening.



A purely social and gala event is scheduled for January every year by members of the Winnetka Historical Society. This year it took the form of a fancy dress ball, held on January 29. A large crowd attended, most of them in costumes representative of various periods in our history. Square dances, with O. Q. Hamilton, Arlington Heights, calling the dances, and a quartet singing old-time songs were a part of the entertainment. Among the hosts and hostesses were Mrs. Carrie B. Prouty, president; Frank Windes, custodian, and Mrs. Windes; and Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Dickinson. Mrs. Dickinson acted as program chairman.

The Woodford County Historical Society has recently provided a number of historical exhibits for display in the old courthouse at Metamora. Many of the items in the collection belong to the period when Lincoln was riding the eighth judicial circuit. Two dockets listing law cases in which Lincoln appeared are included in the exhibit.

CONTRIBUTORS

Roy O. West, author of the first section of the article on Governor Deneen, is head of the firm of West & Eckhart, attorneys at law, in Chicago. He was United States Secretary of the Interior from July 25, 1928 to March 5, 1929. . . . William C. Walton, author of the second part of the same paper, was for many years Professor of Philosophy and Religion at McKendree College. . . . John H. Hauberg is Vice-President of the Illinois State Historical Society and the author of numerous articles on the history of Rock Island and related subjects. . . . Paul Russell Anderson is Head of the Department of Philosophy at Lawrence College, Appleton, Wisconsin. . . . Holman Hamilton is the editorial writer of the *Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, Fort Wayne, Indiana. His biography of Zachary Taylor, published by Bobbs-Merrill Company, appeared in February. . . . Mildred Eversole is Assistant Editor in the Illinois State Historical Library.

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THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

A Statement of Policy

A year ago the Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society decided that the organization could profit from an appraisal of its activities and a statement of future policy. To make such an appraisal, and formulate a statement of the Society's objectives, a Policy Committee consisting of Messrs. Randall, Beyer, James and Stevens, and Mrs. English, was appointed. That Committee's report, which was adopted at the annual meeting at Rock Island, May 2, 1941, is presented herewith.—EDITOR.

The Illinois State Historical Society is an organization of individuals with a common interest and a common belief. The interest is Illinois history; the belief is the conviction that a more general interest in the history of Illinois, and more widespread knowledge of it, would result in important individual and social benefits.

As an organization, the Illinois State Historical Society affirms its faith in history as the record of group experience. Our institutional life—our whole social environment in fact—is what those who have gone before us have made it, and without knowledge of their successes and failures we cannot fully understand the world in which we live.

The Society believes in history as inspiration. By preserving the record of great men and great events, it provides us with valuable evidence of human capabilities and serves to stimulate us to achieve, either individually or collectively, the most of which we are capable.

The Society believes that history makes an essential contribution to good citizenship and strong patriotism. It believes that the citizen who knows the past of his city or county or state will be a better citizen than the one who is ignorant of it; and that the man who knows the history of his country—who looks upon it as the product of former generations of men and women instead of as so many square miles of inhabited territory—will have a deeper feeling for it than one who doesn't.

The Society believes that history, no less than music, art, or literature, and in much the same way, has the power to enrich the lives of individuals.

The Society believes that local history serves all the ends that have been enumerated. Moreover, by dealing with the familiar, it frequently possesses vividness and reality in a greater degree than general history. In addition, local history often brings broad movements and trends into sharp focus and leads to clear understanding of what would otherwise remain obscure.

Finally, the Society believes that all the values to be derived from history generally can be drawn from the history of our own state—that the story of Illinois is characterized by such variety, richness and dignity as to make its study and dissemination worthy of our best efforts.

In this belief, therefore, the Illinois State Historical Society defines the following objectives:

(1) The encouragement of research and writing in Illinois history, to the end that the whole history of the state, and the record of the lives of the men and women who have contributed to its greatness, may be readily available.

(2) The stimulation of interest in Illinois history among the youth of the state, and specifically, the organization of courses in Illinois history and the formation of history clubs in all schools and colleges.

(3) The stimulation of interest in Illinois history on the part of the general public. To this end, the Society will use not only its own publications and meetings, but will utilize the newspapers, the radio, public lectures and forums, and other modern mediums as fully as its resources permit.

In its efforts to attain these objectives the Society will continue to adhere to the strictest standards of scholarship. It believes, however, that accuracy need not mean dullness, and that there can be popular appeal without vulgarization.

All who accept these views are invited to membership in the Society.

THE PAINTED RECORD OF A COMMUNITY EXPERIMENT

Olaf Krans and his Pictures of the Bishop Hill Colony

BY MARGARET E. JACOBSON

ONE hundred and sixty miles southwest of Chicago, on U.S. Highway 34, a marker erected by the State of Illinois reads as follows:

BISHOP HILL

At Bishop Hill, two miles north of here, Eric Jansen and Jonas Olson founded a colony of Swedish religious dissenters in 1846. Organized on communistic lines, the colony at one time had 1100 members and property worth a million dollars. Dissolution and the end of the venture came in 1862.

Erected by the State of Illinois
1934

At the entrance to Bishop Hill, the highway is arched with fine old shade trees which canopy its course to the center of the little village of a couple of hundred inhabitants. Here the park, tree-filled, is surrounded by buildings whose size and unique structure give evidence of a tale that should be told.

To the east is the old Steeple Building, topped by its clock tower. The four-dialed clock, though it is almost a hundred years old, still strikes hourly for the whole town to hear. The names of the three men of the colony who made the clock, appear in the following inscription on the face: "Made 1859 by Bjorklund, Blomberg, Soderquist, Bishop Hill."

To the south and diagonally across from the Steeple Building, the present Post Office occupies a brick building, erected in early days, which has had a long existence as a general store.

Farther west, but still to the south of the park are three large brick structures faced with cement. Square, and three stories high, they are unlike any houses to be seen in correspondingly small towns. One of these was the hotel; each of the others, identical in arrangement, provided living quarters for several families, and thus they present, as do many of the other buildings, an early form of the modern apartment house.

Another brick building, severely plain, has been Bishop Hill's only schoolhouse since it was erected in 1859. The bell in its cupola, calling the village children to their studies, is the one which summoned all the colonists to meals (eaten in the common dining halls) and to worship.

"Old Colony Church 1848" is the simple designation over the doorway of a large frame building with a gambrel roof. The upper part of this edifice served as a church and was furnished with pews of solid black walnut made in the colony from native trees. The colony church replaced the "tent tabernacle," a temporary structure built of logs and canvas in the form of a cross, where worship was at first conducted. Twice a day on weekdays and thrice on Sundays, as many as a thousand persons worshiped together here. It was destroyed by fire in 1848. The colony church, built after this fire, provided dwelling rooms in the basement and on the first floor, while the church proper occupied the second floor.

The villagers also remember and tell about the "Big Brick," which burned in 1928. Two hundred and forty-

five feet long, and four stories high, this building of ninety-six rooms (exclusive of its six halls) served as a dwelling for many families, and housed the communal dining hall and kitchen in its basement.

Other buildings still stand, most of them built of brick, which served as blacksmith and paint shops, and bakery, brewery, tannery, and dairy.

The story which the old trees or the old buildings might tell is, briefly, this. Early in the nineteenth century a group of Swedish men and women, under their leader Eric Janson,¹ found the conditions existing in the established Church of Sweden intolerable. In 1848 Janson, with some of his followers, migrated to Illinois. Others came from time to time until the colony at Bishop Hill numbered more than a thousand. The settlement was a Christian communistic organization, so property, responsibility, and work were shared. Starting with sixty acres, the project accumulated a "balance stock on hand" of \$770,630.94 according to the treasurer's report in the annual statement of the Board of Trustees on January 9, 1860. All this was accomplished by the hard work and persistence of the men, women *and* children—the last mentioned were assigned specific duties and explicit obedience and excellence of performance were required of them.

Since agriculture was the means by which the colonists sought to establish their independence, their first task was to break the prairie. They planted and tilled and harvested their crops, they prepared their building materials of wood, brick and adobe and erected their buildings, they raised sheep and spun and wove the

¹ The name is variously spelled. P. J. Stoneberg, authority on Bishop Hill, uses this form for the English spelling and Jansson for the Swedish. It is spelled Jansen, however, on the historical marker.

wool, they raised flax and manufactured their linens.

Their methods of work were laborious. Though none now survive to tell the tale from personal experience, fortunately a unique record of the primitive activities of these pioneers exists. In the Colony Church there is a collection of paintings done by one man. Many of these paintings are portraits of colonists, but the most interesting ones are a few scenes of colony days, and, whether by design or accident, these are very fittingly depicted in a simple primitive style.

One canvas shows the ravine with the few log cabins and the twelve dugouts in which the early settlers lived when the tents which they had first occupied had to be vacated because of the rigor of the climate; winter had come on before they found time to construct more substantial and permanent shelters.

Several scenes deal with a series of agricultural pursuits. In one, the breaking of a gently rolling prairie is shown against a peaceful sky. Two strips of plowing in the field are growing wider under two red-handled plows, each of which is drawn by six yoke of very sturdy oxen. A boy attends each yoke of oxen carrying a whip with sixteen-foot lash. These "ox pojkar" or ox-boys were very important in the colony. One responsible man had supervision over them, and under his leadership they were the ones who actually broke the many acres of virgin soil. There was a spirit of loyalty and friendship among the ox-boys which stayed with them all their lives. Men, eighty and ninety years old, who had been ox-boys in the colony enjoyed talking about the days of 1846-1850. They liked to tell of the skill they developed in detecting the presence of rattlesnakes, and of how they killed the snakes with dexterous cracks of

the whips they used in driving oxen.

One ox-boy, in his later years, wrote a Swedish song to the tune "Marching Through Georgia" which takes nine verses to tell the story, and has a good lusty chorus to be sung nine times:

*Ohaw, ohaw, till vänster går de då
Oye, Oye, till höger likaså
Detta är kommando hvilket oxarna förstå
Pojkarna då körde oxar.*

("Ohaw" and "Oye" are the orders which the oxen understand for turning to the left and right when the ox-boys drive the oxen).

The plows, drawn by horses, appear against the horizon in another picture where three men are sowing grain. These men scatter their handfuls of seed from bags slung over their shoulders. The firmness of their tread as they definitely advance, and their facial expressions, indicate the determination that had to be a basic characteristic of these pioneers if they were to survive. In the extreme right foreground a colony woman bears a staff to mark the progress of the sowers. She wears the distinctive garb of colony women—a fitted bodice with long tight sleeves, and a full skirt reaching to the plowed ground. A long apron gathered into a tightly tied waistband, a big neckerchief knotted at the throat, and a sunbonnet with a generous cape complete the costume. In this picture the dress is blue; the apron and sunbonnet are white.

Similar dresses, some blue and some brown, are worn by the twenty-four women who are corn planters in another picture, but they wear short aprons of pocket-style to hold the kernels of corn. The original method

of corn planting in the colony is shown here. Two sharp sticks, joined by a rope of a certain length, and each with a projecting prong to reach forward and mark the next row, are carried by two men who plunge them into the earth and thus mark the row to be planted. At regular spaces on the rope, twenty-four little knots of colored cotton are tied, which indicate to each woman where to make her hole with her hoe, drop in her three or four kernels, and cover them up, before the men move forward with the rope for a repetition of the process. The planting goes on under a benign sky of blue with white clouds, and a soft glow at the horizon.

The agricultural series concludes with the sunny scene of harvest. Seven men, identical in appearance and in stance, are cradling the grain, and a dozen women, following them, are binding the sheaves. There is action here, and rhythm, and a sense of restrained contentment in the harvest of an abundant crop.

Happily, the artist also chose to record lighter moments in colony life. One of the smallest paintings, "Butcher Boys on a Bender" is full of zest. It is one of the few given a name by the painter, and it is also inscribed "O. Krans at 70, 1908." The scene is cold; there is snow—a great deal of it; trees are a bare, bleak gray; but in a bobsled with a green box mounted on bright red runners, five butcher boys sit, all warmly clad, all exactly alike. It is a biographical fact that the painter, himself, shared this lively time, and his enjoyment of it may be judged by the gaiety of the two oxen in his painting. The oxen are running, their legs and tails indicating excitement and speed.

A strictly narrative scene, also named by the painter, shows new-mown hay being loaded on two hayracks,

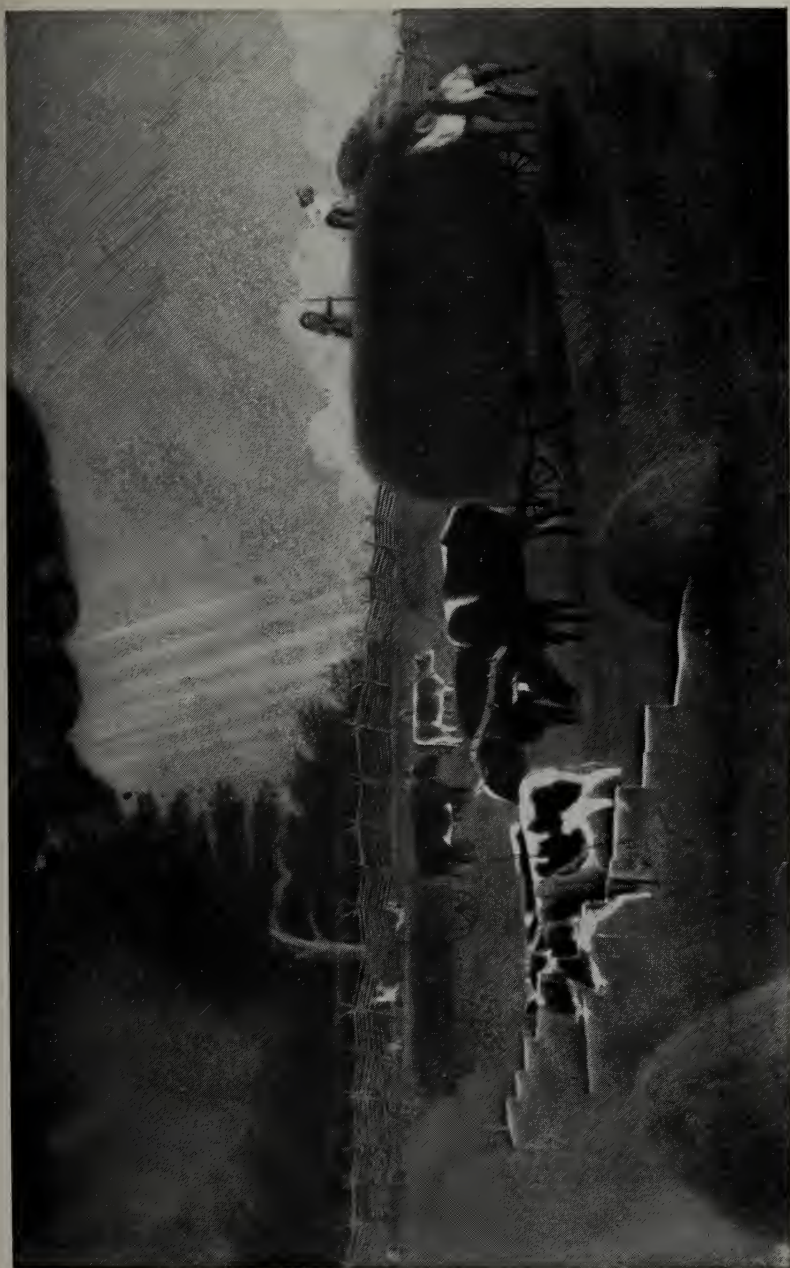
each drawn by a double yoke of oxen in charge of ox-boys. A woman and a man are on each load, while two men on the ground are pitching. Attitudes all suggest haste. This picture is unique for its important background, which is sharply separated from the foreground by a rail fence. Behind the fence are trees, dark in ominous shade. The sky is cut by a straight line, one portion remaining clear and calm, the other drenched with sheets of pelting rain. The naïve name of this picture is "It Will Soon Be Here."

"The Old Mill," "Pile Driving," "Bishop Hill as Seen from North of the Edwards in 1855," "The Indian and Hellbom," "The Sea Captain," "The Monument in Red Oak Grove" and innumerable portraits are some of the other interesting pictures in this gallery.

What is known of the man, who left, perhaps unwittingly, an important pictorial record of an experiment in colonization which has few counterparts?

Olaf Krans was born Olaf Olson, on November 2, 1838, the eldest son of Eric Olafson, and his wife, Beatta. His birthplace was Selja, Nora parish, Vestmanland, Sweden.

Very early Olaf showed a talent for drawing. Before he was twelve years old, his father, having decided to emigrate to America, visited a shipwright in Gefle to ascertain the value of a boat and skiff which constituted part of the property he had to sell. Each member of the colony was required to sell his possessions and to contribute the proceeds to the common fund. The shipwright wanted to see what the property looked like, so the father made some sketches. Olaf, who had accompanied his father, glanced at the drawings, remarked that they were not correct, and proceeded to draw the



“IT WILL SOON BE HERE”

A painting of an imminent thunderstorm



HARRINGTON AT WOODS



LIVING QUARTERS AT BISHOP HILL



PLANTING CORN



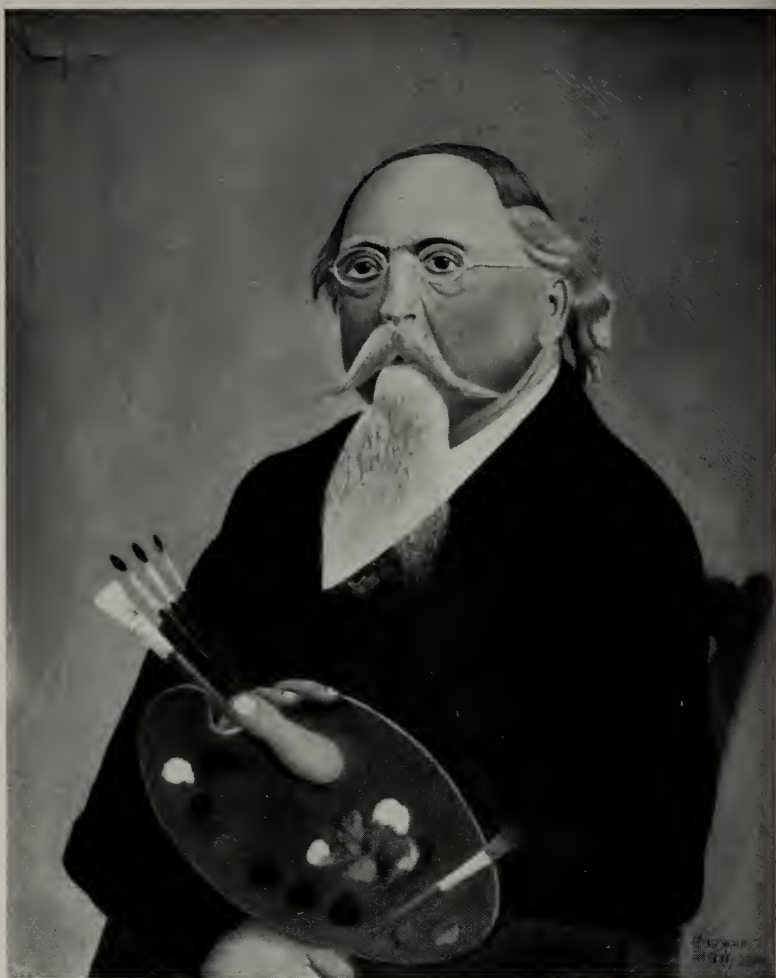
BISHOP HILL IN 1855



SOWERS AT WORK



THE OLD MILL



OLAF KRANS
A self-portrait

boat and skiff, with the comment, "This is the way they look." The shipwright scanned the picture, looked intently at the little boy, then turned to the father, and said: "Let me have him, and I shall give him an education and he will make his mark in the world." But the father would not think of giving him up.

Instead, in August, 1850, with a group of eighty people, Olaf and his parents, three brothers, and two sisters set sail for America on the good ship *Condor*, which was loaded with iron. No regular lines plied between Sweden and America and these emigrants had to take passage on such small cargo vessels as they could find making the trip. Life aboard ship was simple. All the passengers carried their own provisions. These consisted mostly of hard bread called *knäckebröd* and cheese, carried in a certain kind of box or chest. One incident of the voyage was the death of Olaf's little girl cousin and her burial at sea, with the reading of the burial service by the captain. The captain also conducted a church service every Sunday morning when he read from a *postilla*, or book of sermons. The emigrants themselves held devotional services below deck every morning and evening.

Finally, reaching the American shore after a voyage of three months' duration, this little group progressed, first by steamboat on the Hudson River to Albany, thence by canal boat to Buffalo on the Erie Canal—a nine day trip which was broken occasionally by walks and visits to apple orchards along the way when the boat stopped at the locks. A propeller was the form of ship carrying little Olaf from Buffalo via the Great Lakes to Chicago. The lakes were more tempestuous than the ocean had been. Again there was a death in the

party, this time a little boy.

From Chicago to Aurora, Illinois, a train carried the travelers westward. At this point, some got into wagons for the trip to Bishop Hill; others walked the last 100 miles of this long journey, which brought them to their destination in the month of December, only two years after the founding of the colony.

For two winters Olaf attended English school in Bishop Hill, conducted in the Colony Church, where there were no blackboards, wall maps, charts, or desks. The pupils sat on benches around long tables. The school term was short because as soon as the weather permitted, children were taken out to clear the fields and get the land ready for the plow. Olaf was one of the ox-boys whose role in the colony's history he later depicted on canvas.

When he grew older, Olaf worked in the paint shop, and later in the blacksmith shop, for several years. He enlisted in Company D, 57th Regiment, Illinois Volunteer Infantry on September 14, 1861. It was at this time that he, born Olaf Olson, took the name of Krans—the same one his father had borne while performing army service in Sweden. He retained the name the rest of his life in preference to the more common one of Olson, and the other members of his family also chose to be called Krans.

Taken sick after the Battle of Fort Donelson, Sergeant Olaf Krans was removed to a hospital in Louisville, Kentucky, and was discharged for disability on June 3, 1862. During his war service, he wrote considerable Swedish poetry, inspired by nostalgic thoughts of his sweetheart, who all his life kept her place in his heart, though she did not return his love and he found

her married to another upon his return from war.

In his wartime poetry, he also immortalized "Little Nellie," the dog he had reluctantly left behind him.

After returning to Bishop Hill, Olaf Krans clerked in the store of Swan Bjorklund for some years, and then for a while he had charge of a photograph gallery on wheels. He found readjustment difficult after the war; he was apathetic, and disappointment in love was hard on him. Dr. Babcock felt that he was ill in mind and spirit more than in body, and one of his experimental treatments consisted of taking his patient far out into the country on a cold, snowy day, leaving him adrift, and forcing him to walk back.

Moving to Galesburg, Olaf Krans became a painter. There he married Christina Aspequist, and in 1867 the couple moved to Galva, Illinois. They had three sons, Frank, Carl and Ole, and a daughter who died in infancy.

In Galva, Olaf engaged in house-painting and other outdoor paint jobs, and in interior decorating. He was very original if left to work out schemes of design, and many of the good homes in Galva were adorned by his brush. He did a great deal of graining, which he frequently augmented by a finely detailed design of something which simulated inlay. A vine pattern also pleased him. In one home he made vines grow on all the sills and panels of wood, while the ceiling was painted to represent a series of arches. The Swedish Methodist Church in Galva had vines trailing on the ends of the pews, and the old Swedish Lutheran Church was arched by a ceiling of azure blue, studded with gold stars, done by Krans. He was very generous with his work. He contributed many backdrops and curtains for special

performances at the Galva Opera House, to the great advantage of the flourishing dramatic organization in that town.

Krans's first shop in Galva was upstairs in a barn, which had formerly been a toy shop, north of the old Baker House. Later he was located in the basement of the Olson block.

The mind of Olaf Krans was keenly active and his interests found expression in a variety of ways. He was important in the Galva Fire Department, which he helped organize. He was among the first members of the Galva Band and he played the bass horn. He liked to wear a uniform, whether it was that of a fireman, a bandsman, or that of the Grand Army of the Republic—the latter his most treasured one.

One of the hobbies of Olaf Krans was the making of canes. A pet achievement was a cane with a hollowed out handle, in which he sank a sponge, saturated with perfume. He enjoyed the mystification of people when they detected the scent, and their surprise when he revealed its source.

In the field of roadside advertising Olaf Krans was a pioneer. Each sign was the direct work of his hands, and there were many advertisements, handsomely lettered and quaintly styled. One survived west of Galva for years, but like the others it also was finally obliterated. It read:

*Norling bröder saljer piller
Som på engång plågor stiller
Afvon har de linnementen
Som ungdom gör af gamla jäntor.*

("Norling brothers sell pills
which immediately quiet pains.
They also have liniments which
make young folks out of old ones.")

It was when Olaf Krans was convalescing from a leg injury—due to a fall which partially crippled him for a time—that he started painting the Bishop Hill pictures, engaging in it as a pleasant pastime. He reproduced all the colony scenes from memory, but he had the aid and criticism of his sister, Katharine (Mrs. Nyberg of Galva) who corrected his work as it progressed. Unfortunately, he did not date many of these pictures, but they were done within a relatively short time. The painting of the ravine bears the date 1896 and "Butcher Boys on a Bender" is dated 1908. "Bishop Hill as Seen From North of the Edwards in 1855" was painted in 1911, but this is a reproduction of an earlier painting of the same scene done by Krans on a drop curtain in the village auditorium, originally the brewery. The painting of the "Monument in Memory of the Departed Pioneers" is also dated 1911. Most of the portraits, several score of them, were painted from photographs at later dates, and Mr. Krans added to these as long as he lived, modestly reserving a self-portrait till well along toward the end of his life.

Certain characteristics of Krans's work are noteworthy. He had no technical training but he reproduced a faithful picture of what he had seen. He painted three sowers, seven reapers, twenty-four corn planters because he had seen such groups at work in colony days. He was not striving for any approved technique, nor was he conforming to any psychological principles. In several scenes he showed a fondness for the same horizon line, as if his pictorial stories all occurred at the same place. He did not develop background except in a few cases, but this, too, was probably because he recalled the prairie as reaching to the horizon. He transmitted

a sense of atmosphere in a few of his paintings—warmth on the day of harvest, chilliness of autumn in the pile-driving scene, and dreary cold in the Red Oak picture. Most significant is his recording of the manner in which labor was shared by men and women in this colonial enterprise.

Olaf Krans had a keen mind, a creative urge active to the point of restlessness, and a jovial disposition. He was a good storyteller and he liked to talk about his boyhood days. There was nothing mean or small about him; although he never amassed any great possessions he was very generous with all he had. His good nature made for him many friends.

The latter part of his life was spent at Altona, Illinois, and it was there that his death occurred in January, 1916. Since that time the interest in his paintings has constantly increased, and scarcely a day passes without visitors to the Colony Church in Bishop Hill, who look at the Krans paintings and wonder at the strange story they tell of life in this village almost a hundred years ago.²

² Information used in preparing this article came chiefly from personal interviews. The following persons were consulted: Walter Nyberg (son of Olaf Krans's sister), Miss Ida Johnson, Mrs. Maude Seeley and V. A. Wigren, all of Galva, Ill., and Mrs. Anna Krans (widowed daughter-in-law of Olaf Krans), of Altona, Ill. Other sources used were Henry L. Kiner, *History of Henry County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1910); *Galva News*, Jan., 1916; Michael A. Mikkelsen, *The Bishop Hill Colony* (*Johns Hopkins University Studies*, 10 ser., Baltimore, Jan., 1892); and P. J. Stoneberg's notes for newspaper use at the time of Olaf Krans's death. The Krans paintings were also studied of course.

JACOB STRAWN AND JOHN T. ALEXANDER*

Central Illinois Stockmen

BY CLARENCE P. McCLELLAND

WHEN Illinois was admitted to the Union in 1818, it is doubtful whether its population equaled 40,000, which was the number required for statehood. At that time, there were no white inhabitants of the territory which, in 1823, became Morgan County. The first white settlers were two brothers: Colonel Seymour Kellogg and Captain Elisha Kellogg, who built a cabin at the head of the Mauvaisterre in 1819.

In 1821 Greene County was formed from northern Madison County, and in 1823 Morgan County was created from Greene and consisted of what now comprises Morgan, Scott, and Cass counties, a total area of 1,114 square miles. In 1837 Morgan County was made smaller by the establishment of Cass County, and in 1839 it was still further reduced in size when the southwest corner was set off to form Scott County. Since then, it has consisted of 560 square miles, divided about equally between woods and prairie.

In 1823 there were about 1,000 persons living in Morgan County, but they were really squatters. That year the government offered the land for sale at \$1.25 per acre. Theoretically, these settlers could have been dispossessed by a higher bidder, but it was very seldom that

*This paper was read by Dr. McClelland at the meeting of the Morgan County Historical Society on Nov. 29, 1940.

one who held possession was even bid against.¹

Sale of public lands in the state was slow. In 1822, 27,000 acres were sold; in 1826, 80,000 acres; in 1827, 50,000 acres; and it was not until 1829 that the 100,000 mark was passed. What proportion in each of these years was sold in Morgan County, I do not know, but the total number of acres must have been comparatively small.

The soil of Morgan County was unusually fertile:

No region in the world can show a soil more carefully prepared, through vast geological times, with all of the most valuable mineral and chemical supplies for plant-life, and these so well mixed and widely distributed. Add to this the remarkable climatic conditions of the county, tempered by the high lands and plateaus of Central America and Mexico; modified by the great lakes and influenced by the mountain ranges east and west—all tending to secure desirable features of climate, either to moderate extremes or to render them a special benefit.²

While the very first settlers of Morgan County were from the East, their immediate successors were, for the most part, from the southern states, particularly Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia. The New Englanders came later. At first these two groups were not very congenial. Frequently the southern dislike of the Yankee was openly expressed. It might have been half humorous, but it was real.

The Yankee's insistence on writings, mortgages, bonds, and the like, and his superstitious observance of days and times contributed to render him unpopular as being unneighborly. To ask a man on the frontier to hire out his oxen rather than to lend them was thought to imply a belief that he would "act like a Yankee."³

¹ Paul M. Angle, "*Here I Have Lived*" (Springfield, Ill., 1935), 9-10.

² Newton Bateman and Paul Selby, eds., *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois and History of Morgan County* (Chicago, 1906), 635-36.

³ Theodore C. Pease, *The Frontier State* (Cent. Hist. of Ill., II, Springfield, 1918), 18.

On the other hand, the New Englanders could hardly conceal their "feeling of criticism for all the shiftless, easy going habits of frontier life" which they considered southern.

Among the early settlers in Morgan County it is certain that there were some who were hardly farmers and might be more accurately described as "hunters." Such men were always to be found on the outskirts of pioneer settlements. They lived a half-savage life in the forests, cultivating in a lazy way a few acres of cornland and allowing what little stock they had to run wild. They were always ready to move, and as soon as it became necessary to buy the land in order to live on it, they did move. It was a common saying among them that "when one could see the smoke of a neighbor's chimney the country was too crowded for comfort."⁴

The lot of the pioneers of Morgan County was not easy. For the most part they settled in wooded areas, along streams, usually on the edge of the prairie. There were several reasons for this. In the first place, the open prairie land was thought to be unsuitable for cultivation; trees would not grow there, and how could one expect it to produce crops? In the second place, the prairies offered no protection from the weather or from prairie fires; and, in the third place, the prairie sod was too tough; it required four or five oxen to break it, and these the earliest settlers did not possess.

It was the men who came later from the East with money and equipment who must be given credit for developing agriculture in Morgan County on a large scale. As late as 1854 the area between New Berlin and Springfield was nothing but an immense prairie. Five-

⁴ Angle, "*Here I Have Lived*," 10.

sixths of the land was in native grass and had never been plowed. Beginning at New Berlin and extending westward, however, there were the large farms of James S. Brown, Stephen Dunlap, J. D. Smith, E. J. Enos, and Jacob and James Strawn.⁵

The first task of the settler was to provide a place to live. This was not so difficult. The timber was right at hand and all he needed was an axe and a little help from neighbors. Very often his small log cabin, usually about fifteen by eighteen feet, was erected in one day. The next step was to mark off the boundaries of his claim which, according to the unwritten law of the frontier, was 320 acres, by blazing trees with his axe through the timber and driving stakes in the ground at short distances through the prairie. He would then select five or ten acres of ground just at the edge of the timber for his corn or wheat. The trees there were young and never really matured because of the annual autumnal prairie fires lighted by the Indians for hunting purposes. This timberland was chosen as the best fitted for immediate cultivation and was much more easily broken than the prairie sod.

At first there were no buildings for the stock or for the protection of farming machinery. The cattle roamed abroad in the winter with no other shelter than the leafless trees afforded. Of course, this was only in the earliest days. Gradually corn cribs, poultry houses, and stables appeared—all simple structures like the log cabins. These outhouses were also built in the woods where they were sheltered from the winter's storms, and gradually, too, cattle and hogs were fenced in with rails split by hand.

⁵ *Prairie Farmer*, Nov., 1854.

During the first decade in the history of Morgan County farmers were almost entirely self-sufficing. There was little need for exchange of crops or stock and little or no money to use for their purchase. Jacksonville and other small settlements could consume only a small part of whatever little surplus the farmers might have, and the cost of transportation to distant markets was prohibitive.

Prices during this decade were about as follows: corn, \$.05 to \$.08 a bushel; butter, \$.05 a pound; eggs, \$.03 a dozen; pork, \$1.00 to \$1.50 per hundred; beef cattle, three or four years old, \$8.00 to \$10.00; milch cows, \$5.00 to \$10.00.⁶

The first crop actually exported from Morgan County was cotton which was placed in a large canoe or pirogue and paddled down to St. Louis.⁷

Birkbeck, in his *Letters from Illinois*, written before Morgan County was formed, chiefly from his observations in southern Illinois, wrote: "It is on the boundless scope for rearing and fattening hogs and cattle, that the farmers place their chief reliance."⁸ It was not crops but cattle that were the specialty of Morgan County farmers from the beginning. Crops there were, of course, and good crops, too, but they were raised chiefly for feed to be used on the home farms.

When the cost of transportation of grain was confiscatory, cattle and hogs were driven to market. This took time, but it was not nearly so costly. It was cattle and hogs and all that was involved in raising and feeding them and getting them to market that the farmers

⁶ Angle, "*Here I Have Lived*," 22.

⁷ Charles M. Eames, *Historic Morgan and Classic Jacksonville* (Jacksonville, Ill., 1885), 236.

⁸ Morris Birkbeck, *Letters from Illinois* (Philadelphia, 1818), 68.

of Morgan County depended upon for their livelihood. And thus it came about that the leading farmers in Morgan County and elsewhere in Illinois during most of the nineteenth century were stock raisers.

To Morgan County from Ohio, in 1828, came a young man, twenty-eight years of age, by the name of Jacob Strawn. He had been married for nine years and was the father of seven children. At the time of his marriage he had taken over a tract of unbroken land in Licking County, Ohio, and, starting \$7.00 in debt, he not only brought this land under cultivation, but bred and dealt in cattle and horses so successfully that by 1828 he was worth several thousand dollars. He had come to Illinois to buy horses, but, finding the prairie land so rich and cheap, he bought land instead. His first purchase was 160 acres, known as the Cobb farm about four miles southwest of Jacksonville, for which he paid \$10.00 an acre. Upon his return to Ohio, he gradually disposed of his holdings there; and on May 17, 1831, he arrived in Morgan County with his wife and children and located on the land he had purchased there years before. This was the spring following the "deep snow." He might have considered himself very fortunate to have escaped the privations of that terrible winter.

At the time of his settlement in Morgan County, Mr. Strawn was worth from \$6,000 to \$8,000. Such an amount of money was an immense advantage to him in beginning the career which finally brought him to the pre-eminent place among Illinois cattle raisers.

Jacob Strawn came of good Quaker stock. He was named for his grandfather who had crossed the ocean from London, when a small boy, with his widowed mother and settled with her in Bucks County, Pennsyl-

vania. There must have been a number of Strawns there because Jacob's father, Isaiah, was born in Strawntown, Pennsylvania. The date of his birth was October 28, 1758. During the second year of the Revolutionary War, Isaiah entered the continental service as a teamster. At the battle of Germantown, seeing a soldier shot down almost by his side, he became excited and, seizing the dead man's musket, took his place in the ranks. In 1782 he was disowned by the Richmond monthly meeting of the Society of Friends for his part in the war.

About this time he married Rachel Reed, who was the daughter of an officer in the Revolutionary Army, and settled down to his trade as a blacksmith in Somerset County, Pennsylvania. In 1817 he sold out and moved to Knox County, Ohio, where he developed a fine farm which he sold in 1837. He then removed to Florida Township, Putnam County, Illinois, where he died on August 2, 1843.

In the meantime, Isaiah Strawn had become a Methodist and his family were reared in that faith. The Honorable Perry A. Armstrong said of him:

Isaiah Strawn never had a lawsuit or made an active enemy. . . . His lips were never stained with tobacco nor did they utter profane or really vulgar language. Liquor he kept, as was the custom in those days, as a means of showing hospitality to visitors, but he never tasted it himself. He never went into debt. "Pay as you go" was his favorite maxim and rule of his life. What he bought he paid for and what he could not pay for he did not buy even though he might need it ever so much. No man ever held the note of this Isaiah Strawn.⁹

From this description it is plain that in certain important respects Jacob Strawn was very much like his father.

⁹ Clarence V. Roberts, *Early Friends Families of Upper Bucks* (Philadelphia, 1925), 537.

Jacob Strawn had no opportunity for formal education beyond a few years in the district schools of Somerset County, Pennsylvania. But he had no natural liking for books. His was a practical mind. Even as a boy he showed great interest in cattle. It is said that when he was about ten years of age, while visiting one of his aunts and watching her feed cattle, he overheard something said regarding the profit expected from their sale and then and there determined that when he grew up he would be a stock raiser.

When Jacob was seventeen he moved with his parents to Ohio and two years later was married to Matilda Greene, a daughter of the Reverend John Greene, of Licking County. This marriage resulted in the birth of seven children, three of whom grew to maturity and lived for many years in Illinois: the Reverend William Strawn, of Odell; James G. Strawn, a farmer of Orleans, and Isaiah Strawn, a farmer of Jacksonville.

When Jacob moved to Morgan County in 1831, the total population was about 14,000, an increase of about 10,000 since 1825 when Jacksonville was founded. The population of Jacksonville in 1830 was about 500. During the next decade both the county and Jacksonville were to grow rapidly.

For a number of years after settling on the 160 acres of land southwest of Jacksonville, Jacob Strawn with his family occupied a log cabin which was somewhat more elaborate than most, since it had a second story which was reached by means of a ladder from the outside. In December, 1831, seven months after his arrival, his wife died. Almost immediately thereafter he must have turned his attention to finding another, because in July of the following year he married Phoebe Gates,

daughter of Samuel Gates, of Greene County, Illinois.

There are numerous yarns about how Jacob selected Phoebe, but most of them may be dismissed without serious consideration. One that seems to have been generally believed is that he hired out to her father as a corn husker in order to be near her, but, if this were true, Samuel Gates's corn must have been husked rather late that winter.

Phoebe Strawn was a remarkable woman. She has been described as a woman of unusual beauty and intelligence, and I am sure that the description is accurate. Her father was born near Portland, Maine. While still in his teens, he married a Miss Emerson from Vermont who was a relative of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Emerson refers with admiration to Jacob Strawn several times in his *Journal*, and it is said that he visited in Strawn's home.¹⁰

Samuel Greene and his young wife came west and settled in Ohio where Phoebe was born. Later, they located in Bluffdale, Greene County, Illinois, eight miles west of Carrollton. In Bluffdale Phoebe attended a private school conducted by John Russell, an exceptionally cultured man whose Russell Institute was well known and often included children of some of the best families in St. Louis, seventy miles distant, for the reason that St. Louis had no school equal to it at that time.

To Phoebe and Jacob Strawn were born six children: Julius E., Daniel who died in childhood, Jacob, Jr., Gates, David G., and Martha Amelia. Martha Amelia was unmarried and died at the age of twenty-two. Jacob, Jr. was a little older when he died, but still under thirty. Julius, Gates, and David lived for many years

¹⁰ Letter to C. P. McClelland from Miss Louise Hastings, Bloomington, Ind.

and are remembered by a number here tonight.

It was Phoebe Strawn who insisted that her children should be well educated. Her husband was ambitious for each one of the sons to become a farmer and would gladly have settled them on the land. However, only one of them seems to have been physically fit for a farmer's life and that was Gates. Julius, Gates, and David attended Illinois College, and Gates and David graduated from professional schools. Jacob was sickly as a youth and unable to attend college, but studied with special tutors and traveled abroad.

During his early years in Morgan County Jacob Strawn entered large tracts of land near his home west of Jacksonville, which later proved to be the most valuable in the county. His first efforts were directed to breaking up the prairie land and, as soon as the sod rotted, to planting wheat. His next move was to build a flour mill; at the same time, he increased the number of his cattle and hogs. He then gave much attention to milling and butchering and for several years furnished the meat and flour supply of Jacksonville. Gradually he added to his land holdings until his home farm consisted of about 8,000 acres and, in addition, he possessed 10,000 acres in Sangamon and other parts of Morgan County.

The open prairies were fine for grazing. The luxuriant grass provided excellent fodder. The cost of feeding cattle on the prairies from May to October was not more than \$1.00 per head, and the total cost of preparing them for market over a period of from three to five years was not more than \$6.00, although they usually sold for \$25.00 per head. This gives some idea of the profits received by large operators.

The arrival of Jacob Strawn was coincident with the beginning of the great development and prosperity of St. Louis. Between 1830 and 1860 the growth of St. Louis was colossal, largely because of the enormous increase in the Mississippi River trade which centered almost entirely in St. Louis and also because St. Louis was the point of departure for the many thousands of immigrants moving westward. This provided an opportunity which Jacob Strawn had the vision, industry and practical sagacity to seize.

For a time in his earlier operations he actually controlled the St. Louis beef market. Of course, he had competitors, and at one time, when he had a large number of cattle in the stockyards, the buyers and butchers of St. Louis entered into an agreement among themselves to buy none of Mr. Strawn's beeves except at their figures, whereupon Strawn sent out agents upon every road leading to St. Louis with instructions to buy every drove that came along, and so successful was this move that the combination against him collapsed and for several years thereafter he held a monopoly of the trade.

Mr. Strawn's method of providing cash for his transactions is interesting. Captain John Henry, one of the most distinguished of Jacksonville's early citizens, in his "Memoirs" tells us that since there were no banks when Mr. Strawn came to Jacksonville and for years afterward, merchants and all other businessmen kept a good deal of cash on hand. Mr. Strawn would borrow money from the merchants of Jacksonville, buy cattle with it, sell the cattle in St. Louis, and with the proceeds pay the bills of the Jacksonville merchants in that city. "By this means," says Captain Henry, "the trade of the country was managed. These funds . . . put

in circulation a large amount of surplus capital which was much needed at that time."¹¹

Mr. Strawn always had plenty of cash at home in his steel safe or with him in his saddlebags, but he was never robbed. Mr. John R. Robertson remembers that his father told of one occasion on which Mr. Strawn was returning on horseback from St. Louis, after delivering two large herds of cattle, with \$20,000 in gold coin. When he reached a point near Alton in the late afternoon, he realized that he was being followed. Knowing of a fork in the road some distance ahead, he urged his horse to capacity and arrived in advance of his pursuer. Turning from the road to Jacksonville at this point, he found shelter and had the satisfaction of seeing the would-be robber pass him and later return towards Alton. He reached home safely with the \$20,000 still in his saddlebags.

Another anecdote told by Mr. Robertson refers to Mr. Strawn's presence at a large sale of cattle at the Sullivant farm in eastern Illinois. It was an auction, and Mr. Strawn bid in each lot of cattle as it was offered. At the end of the sale, he lifted his great voice and asked if anyone present would sign a note with him for these cattle. There was no answer. He then turned to his horse, placed his hand on his saddlebags and said, "Old saddlebags, will you pay my cattle bill?" Opening the bags, he drew forth in gold the amount needed to pay for approximately 1,000 head of cattle, which he drove to St. Louis without further delay.

Of course, Illinois was growing by leaps and bounds at this time. Its population in 1830 was 151,000; in 1840

¹¹ C. H. Rammelkamp, ed., "The Memoirs of John Henry," *Jour. of the Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XVIII, no. 1 (April, 1925), 70.

it was 476,000. And so also were the nation's population and transportation facilities increasing rapidly. All this made more business for Mr. Strawn.

Having succeeded so well near home, Strawn turned his attention to the great markets of the East and South and within a couple of decades he was feeding and selling larger lots of cattle than any other dealer in the Middle West. At first, he shipped south down the Mississippi to New Orleans and east to Philadelphia and Baltimore by way of the Ohio River; but, with the opening of the Erie Canal, in addition to the Illinois and Michigan Canal, New York City became the most valuable market for Illinois agricultural products because it brought higher prices. Of course, Jacob Strawn took advantage of this shift in transportation facilities, and soon among stockmen in New York and Boston his name was as familiar and he was talked about as much as Peter Cartwright was in religious circles.

In the early days he had had to scour all central and southern Illinois and the settled parts of Missouri and Iowa to secure stock. In those days he personally drove many a herd to St. Louis and Alton and doubtless also to Quincy and Springfield, but in the 1850's cattle were herded by the thousands into Illinois for feeding, and his methods of sale and distribution were changed. In 1854 we know that his sales exceeded \$96,000, and within the next decade they may have been even greater.

Jacob Strawn was the first to feed steers in Morgan County. He is also given credit for introducing among stockmen in the Middle West the system of stall-feeding with corn. The best description I have found of this method of feeding is in a book written by Joseph G. McCoy, in 1874, entitled *Cattle Trade of the West and*

Southwest. It is as follows:

A few weeks before the grass in the pasture fails, the feeder begins to give his cattle corn, at first but little, gradually increasing the amount until the cattle become thoroughly accustomed to it, without gorging or foundering. When the pasture becomes bare of grass, the cattle are brought into the feed yards and there daily fed for from four to six months. The feeder's outfit is usually an ox team of one or more pairs of cattle, which are attached to a wagon, upon which is placed a long, rude, strong rack, much like a hay frame, upon which the shock corn is thrown, then drawn from the field to the feed yard. Entering the yard with his team, the feeder mounts the load, and with a stake or standard from the rack, throws the corn to the ground, first upon one side then upon the other, while the team moves around a beaten circuit which they soon become accustomed to follow, and which is soon marked by a high ridge of corn-stalks, which in muddy, rainy times, forms a dry spot or circle, as well as an excellent bed in cold weather.

The ground is literally floored or paved with corn-stalks in the feed yard, and the cattle are allowed to eat as much as they desire, and that too of the best ears of corn. An average sized bullock will eat and waste, one-half bushel of corn each day, and will become, in time, very fat. The usual gain in four to six months feeding is from two to three hundred pounds. Extra good feeding of extra good cattle, will often make greater gains. Many feeders prefer to feed husked or snapped corn, which is fed in boxes or troughs. There is less waste of corn, but this method requires feeding hay, or straw for roughness.

When shock corn is fed, two yards are provided, in which the cattle are fed alternate days. Whilst they are being fed in one, a herd of swine are eating up the waste and offal in the other. One to two hogs to each bullock are thus made fat. The profits on the hogs fattened, is no inconsiderable item in the feeding operation.¹²

I quote again from the "Memoirs" of John Henry:

For many years he [Strawn] raised large crops of corn and hay on his farm and stalled, fed his cattle in the winter and grazed them in the summer. His arrangements for feeding were so constructed that one man with two yoke of oxen and wagon would feed one hundred head of cattle and the same number of hogs. During this

¹² Joseph G. McCoy, *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest* (Kansas City, 1874), 166-67.

time he boarded most of his hands . . . and his table was well supplied with wholesome food. In the latter part of his life he changed his mode of farming to some extent and had his farming lands all in grass and let his cattle out to farmers and tenants at so much a head—would collect them in the spring, drive them to market or sell them at home. He kept a fine lot of brood mares and the raising of his horses gave him no trouble. He turned them into large pasture in the summer with plenty of hay in the winter. They were raised like wild horses; sexes were turned out together. When these horses became of proper age, they were taken up and broken and used for farming purposes and many of them he furnished to his tenants to raise a crop.¹³

The following newspaper item gives a little glimpse of the extent of Mr. Strawn's farming operations:

Jacob Strawn, the Morgan County farmer, has a homestead of 10,000 acres. The number of acres of corn he has this year is 2,300. This, at 40 bushels per acre, a low average yield for the season, gives 92,000 bushels. He owns another farm, which is six miles long and four broad. Last year he paid out \$10,000 for fencing materials. He has also large tracts of unimproved lands. He is an immense dealer in cattle.¹⁴

At the peak of his operations, Strawn personally bought and sold larger herds than any other man in the United States. The brand of Strawn's cattle was recognized in all the principal markets and brought the highest prices. His reputation was such that he could draw on bankers in St. Louis, and even distant cities, any amount of money he needed for his business.

What were the outstanding characteristics of this remarkable man? First, great physical strength and endurance. He was a large man and grew heavy with age. He required little sleep and most of his waking hours—night or day—he spent out-of-doors, usually in the saddle, gathering and directing his immense herds of cattle.

¹³ *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XVIII: 70-71.

¹⁴ *Quincy Whig*, July 3, 1854.

He was a man of iron will. When his mind was made up he would move without hesitation to the goal he had set, and invariably he got there.

The word "failure" was not in his vocabulary. His success was due also to his foresight and organizing ability. Although operating on a large scale, he was in no sense a plunger. He knew the cattle business thoroughly and was usually sure of his ground and did not feel that it was necessary for him to take great chances. In spite of changing markets, he seldom sustained great losses and in this respect differed from most stock dealers.

He died in 1865. It is of interest to speculate as to what might have happened to his business if he had been operating in 1868-1869 when there was a great financial depression and the bottom dropped out of the cattle market.

He was scrupulously honest. His word was his bond. To meet his obligations promptly was almost an obsession with him and he expected others to act likewise. He abhorred a liar and a cheat and had no patience with the lazy. He was often gruff in manner and was subject to occasional emotional outbursts when his language would be anything but elegant. He never used alcoholic liquors and would not tolerate the use of them by his help.

He was never a member of any church and seldom attended a church service, but contributed to the support of several churches. He was not religious in the ordinarily accepted meaning of the word, but for several months prior to his death, when obliged to remain at home, he spent many hours reading the Bible.

He was too busy for social affairs of any kind, al-

though he was hospitable to any who came to see him.

His speech was forceful and often epigrammatic. The following are some of his maxims:

"When you wake up, do not roll over, but roll out. It will give you time to ditch all your sloughs, break them up, harrow them, and sow them with timothy and red clover. One bushel of clover to ten bushels of timothy is enough."

"Be sure to get your hands to bed by seven o'clock; they will rise early by force of circumstances."

"Always feed your hands as well as you do yourself, for the laboring men are the bone and sinew of the world and ought to be well treated. I am satisfied that getting up early, industry and good habits are the best medicines ever prescribed for health."

"Study your interests closely and don't spend any time electing Presidents, Senators and other small officers, or talk of hard times, when spending your time in town, whittling on store boxes, etc."

"Take your time and make your calculations; don't do things in a hurry, but do them at the right time and keep your mind, as well as your body, employed."

There is a unique reference to Jacob Strawn in an article in *McClure's* magazine, published a number of years ago, which links his name with Abraham Lincoln and which I am sure has never been recorded in any biographical sketch of Jacob Strawn. This article appeared under the name of Captain Gilbert J. Greene, of Springfield. In his article Captain Greene tells of an experience he had while passing through Morgan County to Springfield. The following are several paragraphs from the article:

As I approached the middle of the State, after walking an entire day through corn-fields, I applied at nightfall at a large farmhouse for shelter. I soon learned that it was the home of Jacob Strawn, at that time the largest farmer in the West. Finding that my route carried me to Springfield, the capital of the State, Strawn told me he would keep me overnight if I would carry some papers to "Abe" Lincoln, who attended to all his legal business.

"Don't know him? Well, anybody in Springfield can tell you

where his office is—up by the court-house. He's just the smartest lawyer there is in this State, and he would be Governor yet if it wasn't for his infernal politics," said Strawn.

I started the next morning at sunrise. The distance to Springfield was thirty-five miles. I saw some heavy marching during the war, but no single day's journey ever exceeded the wearisome monotony of this long, level road. I arrived in the city before night-fall. The first man I asked said:

"You will find 'Abe' Lincoln's office on the west side of Court-House Square, in the only building that ain't got any paint on it."

And so I did. The entrance was in a hallway.

A. LINCOLN, ATTORNEY

was on a plain strip of black tin on a door to the left. I knocked, and a loud, cheerful voice instantly responded, "Come in!" I timidly opened the door, and entering, I observed a man sitting in an old-fashioned splint-bottomed chair before a blazing wood fire, his feet against the mantel higher than his head, and reading a copy of the *Louisville Journal*. He never looked up, but as I advanced towards the fire, which at the moment attracted me more than the man, he said:

"Well?"

"I have some papers here which I brought from Jacob Strawn, near Jacksonville," was my reply.

Down came the feet and up went the head, and as he took the bundle he said: "Didn't think the old codger would send a horse out such a night as this."

When I told him I had walked the entire distance, his interest in me became so great that he never stopped questioning me until I had told him my whole story.¹⁵

Jacob Strawn was a Whig until 1856 when he became a Republican upon the organization of that party in that year. He supported Lincoln for President in 1860 and was strong for the Union cause during the war between the states.

His one large gift for charity was made to the Christian Commission in 1863. This was the result of an offer which he had made to give the Commission \$10,000,

¹⁵ Gilbert J. Greene, "Lincoln the Comforter," *McClure's*, Vol. 54, no. 10 (Dec. 1922), 11-13.

provided an equal amount was subscribed by others. M. P. Ayers, of Jacksonville, and Chaplain, later Bishop, McCabe, successfully canvassed central Illinois for the money to meet Mr. Strawn's offer and in this way \$20,000 was contributed to this important cause.

In 1861 Mr. Strawn built an opera house for Jacksonville, which was considered the finest building of its kind in the state outside of Chicago. At the opera house appeared many distinguished artists and lecturers, and the building still stands, occupied by Gilbert's Drug Store and Kline's Dress Shop.

Mr. Strawn's life was in a sense a narrow one, but, within the limits he set for himself, he must be considered a successful man. When he died, August 23, 1865, he left an estate valued at \$1,000,000. He is buried in Diamond Grove Cemetery, Jacksonville.

What kind of cattle did Jacob Strawn and other stockmen breed and feed? As early as 1721, we know that there were cattle in the French settlements in southern Illinois, particularly at Kaskaskia. In 1770 it was noted:

At St. Phillippe, the captain of the militia has about twenty slaves and a good stock of cattle and planks. At Cahokia they have a great deal of poultry and good stocks of horned cattle.

According to John Reynolds:

The horned cattle came from Canada, were a hardy race, not large, but of neat formation, with generally black horns. They stood the winter better without grain than the American cattle, gave less milk in summer, and kicked all the time.

During the next twenty years a good many cattle were brought into Illinois from Kentucky and other southern states. Practically all of them were of English or Scotch origin. The Reverend J. M. Peck, in 1831, wrote:

Our neat cattle are mostly inferior in size to those of most of the older States. This is owing entirely to bad management. Our beef is the finest in the world. . . . It bears the best inspection of any in the New Orleans market.¹⁶

In the early years the handling of livestock in Morgan County was undoubtedly haphazard and unscientific, and there was a mixture of breeds. In addition to the practical difficulties connected with housing and feeding during the winters, which were often severe, there was constant opposition to stock improvement on the part of small farmers. When a law was enacted prohibiting small bulls from running at large, it was denounced as aristocratic because it favored the rich who could afford to own large bulls and profited by the destruction of the small ones. But the more intelligent farmers were not to be deterred and they introduced blooded stock from time to time to improve the breeds of cattle raised.

In the early 1830's this improvement began to show. James N. Brown arrived in Sangamon County, just over the eastern boundary of Morgan County, in 1834, and began his famous herd of "Island Grove" cattle. In 1841 Governor Levi Lincoln, of Massachusetts, sent some crossings of Ayrshire and Shorthorn cattle to his son in Alton. The first state fair was held in Springfield in 1853, and it is said that the Shorthorn was exhibited there in considerable numbers.

In 1856 the Illinois Stock Importing Company was organized at Springfield with \$12,700 worth of capital stock subscribed. Agents of the company were sent to England to purchase pedigreed stock. In August, 1857, eighty head of these imported cattle were sold at auc-

¹⁶ Quotations from Donnelley, Loyd & Co., pub., *History of Morgan County* (Chicago, 1878), 239.

tion in Springfield under an agreement that they should remain in the state for two years.¹⁷ And so gradually purebred cattle, principally Shorthorns, Jerseys, Devons, Ayrshires and Herefords, increased and even the common cattle had strains of purebred stock. In 1874 nine-tenths of the purebreds were Shorthorns. In 1884, thirty-five percent of the cattle of Illinois were "highgrades," that is, cattle that had been partly bred with blooded stock. In 1890 one-fourth of the cattle in the entire state were of pure blood, but one-third in the central portion of the state were of pure blood, which also must have been true of Morgan County.¹⁸ In the latter half of the century Shorthorns came into almost universal use, to be displaced in turn in our day by the Herefords.

The year 1866, which was the year immediately following the death of Jacob Strawn, marked the beginning of a new epoch in the cattle industry in the United States. The cause of this new development was the sudden movement of great herds of longhorn cattle from the State of Texas. It has been estimated that 260,000 Texas longhorns were driven northward during that year.

The following description of the longhorn will remind us of this breed of cattle which has now practically disappeared:

No odder, weirder cattle specimen ever existed than the Texas longhorn. He was the clown of his family, a caricature of his kind, in which every peculiarity was accentuated to degrees which made of him almost a walking cartoon. His legs were too long and too bony. His tail was too long, and his body was thin and so long that often he was sway-backed. In color the longhorn was unpredictable,

¹⁷ A. C. Cole, *The Era of the Civil War* (Cent. Hist. of Ill., III, Springfield, 1919), 83-84.

¹⁸ Ernest L. Bogart and Charles M. Thompson, *The Industrial State* (Cent. Hist. of Ill., IV, Springfield, 1920), 256-57.

sometimes brown, sometimes dun, sometimes red, sometimes black, occasionally yellow, and often an indiscriminate combination of all colors. More than all else his horns were outrageous and unbelievable. Out and up, on either side of his head they curved, sometimes almost corkscrewing, making a prodigious sweep, polished white or blue and tipped at the end with points sharp as stilettos. Looking at those mammoth horns the spectator was often impelled to wonder how the scrawny neck of the creature could support such magnificent adornments. The longhorn steer reached his full growth when he was about ten years old, but not so his horns. Year after year they continued to lengthen and spread as long as the animal lived. Old steers often carried horns measuring seven feet from tip to tip, and there is a record of eight feet, nine inches. The bases of these mighty horns became wrinkled and cracked, giving the appearance of lichens clinging to a rock. That was what gave rise to the descriptive term "mossy horns" referring to mature cattle in the trail-driving era.¹⁹

Despite his strange peculiarities in appearance, the longhorn steer was a remarkably serviceable animal. He was practically forced upon cattle dealers and his wide distribution during a period of twenty years immediately following the Civil War popularized the consumption of beef and made it available for millions of Americans to whom formerly it had been a delicacy.

The origin of the longhorn is to be traced to the importation into Mexico by the Spaniards of a few Andalusian cattle from Santo Domingo in the year 1521. Whether this Andalusian stock had extremely long horns, I have been unable to ascertain, but two historic breeds sprang from it: one became the fighting stock used in the Spanish bull ring, quick-footed and courageous, and the other was the American longhorn. For three centuries this original Andalusian blood mingled with many other strains in that part of Mexico which later became Texas. One breed was rather small, black

¹⁹ Paul I. Wellman, *The Trampling Herd* (New York, 1939), 32-33.



Photo by J. Monaghan

TEXAS LONGHORNS

Selection and propagation at government expense has saved these cattle from extinction

and sharphorned, "fierce and cunning brutes, as wild and dangerous as the black buffalo of South Africa." It is on record that on one occasion in 1846, one of these bulls rushed headlong into a company of troops planning to invade Mexico and threw the company into complete confusion with the soldiers "falling over one another, files breaking into undignified rout, officers swearing and unable to do anything to halt the debacle."²⁰

The Mexicans on their ranches in Texas had cattle which were somewhat more domesticated, although it would be quite correct to call them wild. To these were added cattle brought to Texas by the American settlers who gradually moved in from Louisiana, Tennessee, and other southern states. Their herds descended from animals introduced mainly from England at various points on the Atlantic Coast, thus the original Spanish cattle were gradually graded up, making them larger and heavier and with enormous horns.

Most American settlers in Texas became stockmen for the reason that if they declared to the Mexican government that they intended to farm, they would receive only 177 acres of land; but if their purpose was to raise livestock, they would receive 4,438 acres or even more. It was perfectly natural for these first Texas settlers to arrange for a larger acreage. The result of this policy was that by the end of the Civil War, Texas had far more cattle than she knew what to do with. As early as 1833 it is figured that there were approximately 21,000 persons living in the civilized parts of Texas and about 100,000, or five head of cattle for every resident. Later, this ratio increased to six to one. In all the rest of the

²⁰ Wellman, *The Trampling Herd*, 37.

United States at this time the ratio was less than one head of cattle per person. In 1848 there were 382,873 cattle in Texas; in 1855, 1,363,688; in 1860, 3,786,443. All this made cattle very cheap. Often a mature steer brought less than \$4.00.

It was inevitable that the Texas cattlemen would seek an outside market for their great herds. So far as the records go, the first trail herd driven from Texas was in 1846 by Edward Piper, up through Missouri to Ohio, but the drives until after the Civil War were intermittent. Several markets were tried, among them New Orleans and also California, Missouri, even Ohio, and perhaps New York, but without much success. Some longhorns were fed in Illinois in the fifties. During the opening years of the Civil War, Texas cattle were furnished the southern army, but with the capture of Vicksburg in July, 1863, all cattle driving from Texas ceased until 1866.

In the North, during the war, most of the agricultural lands were devoted to raising wheat and corn. In 1865 there was a disastrous beef shortage not only in the South, but in the North as well. Prices for beef were prohibitive. It was just at this point that Louis F. Swift and P. D. Armour inaugurated a new era in the meat packing industry with the elimination of waste as their slogan.

The Union Stockyards, of Chicago, were opened for use on Christmas day in 1865, and the development of the modern packing business and trail-driving of cattle from Texas were "simultaneous and interdependent." The cattle were driven north from Texas and, as Paul I. Wellman has said:

Rattlesnakes, cactus, mesquite, dry plains, and predatory beasts

held few terrors for these animals. As wild as the bison were they, but unlike the black cattle of early Texas—of which not many survived—they were capable of some degree of training as was demonstrated when the trail-driving technique was developed.²¹

The story of how they were driven to Illinois and other parts of the Middle West, first through Missouri, and then Kansas; the extension of the railroads to Kansas and the development of such cowtowns as Abilene, Ellsworth, Newton, Wichita, and the greatest of them all, Dodge City, is most interesting, but cannot be recited here. The credit for conceiving the idea—and, better still, for carrying it out—of shipping these Texas cattle by railroad from Kansas at points to which they could be driven without interference from farmers and jay-hawkers, goes to a man from Springfield, Illinois, Joseph G. McCoy, who wrote the only book by one who participated in the great cattle drives from Texas. From this book I have already read one quotation. His achievements are a thrilling tale and should be known by us all.

During the last ten years of his life no man in the State of Illinois, or in any other, for that matter, handled more Texas cattle on his own account than John T. Alexander. Perhaps not even Jacob Strawn handled more cattle of all kinds than Mr. Alexander. John T. Alexander was born September 15, 1820, in Wellsburg, Virginia; thus he was twenty years younger than Strawn. When he was six years old he moved with his father to Ohio. Beginning at thirteen years of age, for the next seven years, he assisted his father, who was a stockman, in driving cattle over the Allegheny Mountains to the Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York, and

²¹ Wellman, *The Trampling Herd*, 79-80.

Boston markets. In 1840, being then twenty years old, he decided that there was a better opportunity farther west and so he came to St. Louis, where he secured a position with Christian Haynes, then the leading cattle dealer of that city. He was immediately sent out to purchase cattle for his employer. Joseph G. McCoy has left the following description of the method used by these buyers:

At that early day such a convenience as live stock scales for weighing animals alive was unknown, or if known, unused so far west as St. Louis. It was the custom to select an average bullock, slaughter him, weigh the carcass, and then from that compute the average weight of the entire herd. It was the custom then in vogue for the drover and the purchaser to select, or arrive at the average steer, by choosing alternately one the best and heaviest steer, the other the lightest and meanest steer, until all but one steer was chosen. This, of course, was taken for the average. It is easy to see that much depended upon the judgment of the parties who did the selecting. If the drover was a better judge than the buyer, he was sure to get the better of him, and *vice versa*.²²

Alexander showed unusual skill in the selection of cattle and was soon one of his employer's most trusted men. It wasn't long before he made up his mind to become a raiser of cattle on his own account. He began in a small way with money borrowed from his employer. In 1845 he accomplished what was considered a remarkable feat. He drove 250 fat cattle of his own feeding to Boston. This required great care to prevent a ruinous shrinkage in weight and condition. At Albany he sold them for \$31.00 per head, delivered in Boston, which yielded him a substantial profit.

In 1848 he purchased his first land. It was in Morgan County, ten miles east of Jacksonville. Exactly how many acres, I do not know, but it was a large tract and

²² McCoy, *Cattle Trade*, 164.

in a short time it was increased until it included 7,000 acres of land as good as any in Illinois. The price paid was \$3.00 per acre. At the time of Mr. Alexander's death in 1876 this land was worth about \$150 per acre. Today it is even more valuable. Here he settled down to extensive farming and cattle feeding.

It seems to me that Mr. Alexander's experience was more typical of the stockman's than Mr. Strawn's. He, like Mr. Strawn, had the stockman's temperament. He was strong-willed, courageous, and he had good judgment; but, unlike Mr. Strawn, he never hesitated to take large chances and sometimes fortune favored him and other times he suffered severe reverses. For six years he prospered and was fast becoming wealthy, but in 1854 there was a severe drouth and he found difficulty in providing sufficient corn to feed his herds during the winter.

In the spring the price offered seemed too small to Mr. Alexander, so he determined to drive his herds to the nearest railroad terminal, which was Logansport, Indiana, a distance of about three hundred and fifty miles. Then they were shipped by rail and water to New York and Boston. In the end, Mr. Alexander received a lower price than he was offered in Illinois and sustained a considerable loss.

The next year he just about broke even. In 1857, however, he shipped 10,000 cattle via the new Toledo, Wabash and Western Railroad. He made a profit of \$60,000. The next year he shipped 11,000 cattle, but at some loss. The following year, 1859, he increased his shipment to 15,000 cattle, but sold them for little or nothing. His losses, then, were equal to the value of his entire estate. He was able to weather this storm, how-

ever, and his credit held good. During the next two years he made no money.

Then came the Civil War and a wonderful opportunity for Mr. Alexander. Not only were all previous losses made good, but at the close of the war his assets were 7,200 acres of land, worth nearly \$100 per acre, \$100,000 in the bank and large herds of cattle. It was at this time that he purchased the Sullivant farm, afterward called "Broadlands," in Champaign County, a tract of 26,000 acres.

This brings us to the time when the immense herds of Texas longhorns were being driven to Kansas and shipped eastward by railroad. Alexander became the largest feeder of longhorns in the country.

But trouble was ahead. In 1868 markets fell, Spanish fever decimated Alexander's herds, and the New York Central Railroad repudiated contracts for the shipment of his cattle. His losses in one year aggregated \$350,000 and practically forced him into bankruptcy. He decided to sell "Broadlands." A Canadian company agreed to buy the entire tract for \$675,000, but for some reason the trade was not consummated, and he was compelled to assign his entire estate for the benefit of his creditors. Marshall P. Ayers became the assignee and manager. The liabilities were \$1,200,000, but Mr. Alexander's assets were adequate and every creditor was paid dollar for dollar. Even at this dark moment the following item appeared in the *Illinois Journal*:

Illinois still retains its pre-eminence as a cattle grazing and producing State, having furnished more cattle for the New York market, during the year, than all other States combined. The total was 165,663, of which a single Illinois firm (J. T. Alexander & Co.) furnished 36,028.²³

²³ *Illinois Daily State Journal*, Jan. 16, 1869.



Photo by J. Monaghan

TEXAS LONGHORNS ON WICHITA NATIONAL FOREST, OKLAHOMA

In the year 1870, in a desperate effort to make good his losses, Mr. Alexander shipped 75,000 cattle to eastern markets, the value of which was more than \$5,000,000. This was the largest season's business ever done by a single individual cattleman in the United States up to that time, and it is doubtful whether it has been exceeded since. In that same year Mr. Alexander declared that dealing in longhorns was a losing business and that in the future he would handle only high grade local cattle.²⁴

After the loss of "Broadlands" and the payment of his debts, Mr. Alexander still retained 2,000 acres of the best of his Morgan County lands and he went to work with a will to retrieve his fortunes. He was making good progress when he died of cancer at the age of fifty-six. He is buried in Diamond Grove Cemetery.

Mr. Alexander was married to Mary A. Deweese who lived to the advanced age of ninety-three. She died in 1920 and was buried in Diamond Grove Cemetery. There were eight children, five of whom grew to maturity. Two of these are buried in the family plot in Diamond Grove, viz., John Tracy Alexander (1850-1932) and William D. Alexander (1855-1935).

Mr. Alexander's friend, Mr. Joseph G. McCoy, described him as he was three years before his death:

Mr. Alexander is not above fifty-three years of age, is tall and of commanding appearance, looks hale, fresh and youthful, is of sanguine mental temperament, and naturally impulsive. He is very quiet and unassuming in manners, speaks but little, and never in a loud or boisterous tone, is affable, social, warm-hearted; appreciates true manhood, is upright, honorable, and high-minded in his business transactions. No superior has gone before him, and there are none to follow after him.²⁵

²⁴ *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 28, 1870.

²⁵ McCoy, *Cattle Trade*, 177-78.

Mr. John E. Erickson, now living on Westminster Street in Jacksonville, was one of Mr. Alexander's cowboys at "Broadlands" in the early seventies. He has told me how the large herds of longhorns were cared for at "Broadlands," which he describes as being six miles wide and seven miles long. He always admired Mr. Alexander, particularly for his affability and kindness to others. Mr. Alexander took a great interest in Mr. Erickson and gave him considerable responsibility. After the great farm was assigned to Mr. M. P. Ayers, as trustee, Mr. Erickson was retained as overseer. He remained with the Alexander family as manager of their lands until 1892. Since then, he has been a farmer in his own right, having a large tract of land near New Berlin.

To show the extent of Mr. Alexander's operations, let me add that during a period of fifteen years, from 1857 to 1872, 2,000 carloads of cattle per year were shipped from Alexander—the village named for the stockman. This means about 100,000 cattle per year or about 3,000,000 for the period. While there were other stock feeders in this area which used Alexander as a shipping point, yet a very large proportion of the cattle represented Mr. Alexander's shipments.

The shipping agent for the Wabash Railroad at Alexander at that time was Mr. Edward S. Hinrichsen, who must have been a very busy man looking after all those shipments. Mr. Hinrichsen, it will be recalled, was the father of Mrs. Eugenia Johnston, of this city, and the grandfather of Professor Mary Johnston, of MacMurray College. It was he who laid out the village of Alexander about the year 1857, on a tract of farm land extending from about the site of the present tourist camp east about a mile. This land Mr. Hinrichsen

bought from John T. Alexander. He not only laid out the village, but built a station for the Wabash Railroad, a post office, a number of houses and his own home. When it came to naming the village, his own name was thought to be too difficult to pronounce and so he decided to name the town for Mr. Alexander, largely from personal friendship.

Miss Anne Hinrichsen, granddaughter of Edward S. Hinrichsen, has in her possession the original deed of the land occupied by the village of Alexander. She and her brother still hold some property there, including the park in the center of the village which has never been transferred from the family, as well as the old home place and a few vacant lots.²⁶

It might be interesting, also, to note what a great center Jacksonville was at this time for the shipment of cattle. Eames, in his *Historic Morgan and Classic Jacksonville*, gives the figures for 1874 as 2,527 cars, representing probably over 100,000 animals.

The number of cattle in the county during the last seventy-five years has gradually increased. The record shows that in 1876 there were 17,398; in 1937, 26,300; in 1939, 27,400; and in 1940, 29,800. The number shipped out of the county during the past two years has been estimated as follows: 1939, 14,796; 1940, 16,092.²⁷ The disparity in the figures of cattle shipments between the present time and those of the 1870's is accounted for by the fact that seventy-five years ago great herds of cattle were driven or shipped into Morgan County in the fall, fattened during the winter, and shipped out again the following spring and summer.

²⁶ This information was furnished by Miss Anne Hinrichsen.

²⁷ Estimates by A. J. Surratt.

In 1862 Illinois ranked second to Texas in the production of cattle. One-half of the 165,000,000 pounds received in New York during that year came from Illinois.²⁸ Within the state, Morgan County ranked first; today Morgan County ranks fortieth.

As I have indicated earlier in this paper, the leading families in Morgan County during the nineteenth century were stockmen. Some fed cattle; others bred them. Jacob Strawn and John T. Alexander were primarily feeders. However, there were many breeders. These men took pride in their blooded animals which were named, registered, and frequently had a high market value. They were exhibited at county fairs and at the state fairs.

During three-quarters of the nineteenth century, following the formation of Morgan County, many stockmen became wealthy; but, what is more important, they developed fine personal traits. As a whole, they were God-fearing, substantial, family men. They made an impress upon their generation and added much to the wealth and character of our republic. It is no exaggeration to say that "there were giants . . . in those days." To them we gladly pay our tribute of praise.

²⁸ *Rockford Register*, Feb. 14, 1863.

WAS ABRAHAM LINCOLN REALLY A SPIRITUALIST?

BY JAY MONAGHAN

FOR almost eighty years Abraham Lincoln's detractors have maintained that the Emancipator was a spiritualist, a mystic ruled by spirit rappings from unseen hands. Since the Civil War, few decades have passed without some esoteric and generally privately printed account of seances in the White House during the war years. Lincoln's law partner, William Herndon, enhanced the probability of such tales by asserting that Lincoln was superstitious, that he consulted a voodoo fortuneteller, that he attached peculiar significance to dreams and to a double image of himself in a mirror,¹ and that he once took his son to Terre Haute to be treated for a mad dog bite with a magic stone.² Such stories, if true, should be viewed in the light of Lincoln's time. Was he more superstitious than the people of his age, and does it necessarily follow that he believed in the philosophy of spiritualism with its recognized "mediums" under "control" of spirits who spoke through them and sometimes came visibly into the seance chamber? The evidence is meager. A book on spiritualism, *Further Communications from the World of Spirits*, by "an English lady," was presented to Lin-

¹ Ward Hill Lamon, *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln, 1847-1865* (Washington, D. C., 1911), 112-13.

² Paul M. Angle, ed., *Herndon's Life of Lincoln* (New York, 1936), 352.

coln by an admirer on May 21, 1862. This volume, now in the collection of Oliver R. Barrett in Chicago, bears no sign of use. However, there is some evidence to show that Lincoln did attend several seances, and his reaction to them may be surmised from the detailed accounts which have been preserved.

Spiritualism originated in the late 1840's as a by-product of democratic transcendentalism which swept across the North prior to the Civil War. The cult flourished in centers which also supported Lincoln and Frémont in their political campaigns—an important fact since Lincoln unquestionably had many constituents who belonged to the faith. A political odor is noticeable in some of the source material that treats upon Lincoln as a spiritualist. Other treatises are plainly emotional. The following eleven books and pamphlets claim to deal in detail with Lincoln as a spiritualist:

- Anonymous, *Old Abe's Jokes* (2 eds., New York, 1864).
 Fitzgerrell, J. J., *Lincoln was a Spiritualist* (Los Angeles, 1924).
 Gordon, James, *Was Abraham Lincoln a Spiritualist?* (Washington, D. C., n.d.)
 Hall, Fayette, *The Copperhead or the Secret Political History of Our Civil War Unveiled* (New Haven, Conn., 1902).
 Hall, Fayette, *The Secret and Political History of the War of the Rebellion* (New Haven, Conn., 1890).
 Harlow-Goetz, Elizabeth, *The Simplicity of Greatness and the Greatness of Simplicity* (San Diego, Calif., 1915).
 Hulburt, E. W., *The Life of Little Justin Hulburt* (Descanso, Calif., 1909).
 Maynard, Nettie Colburn, *Was Abraham Lincoln a Spiritualist?* (Philadelphia, 1891).
 [Quinn, D.], *The Interior Causes of the War* (New York, 1863).
 Richmond, Thomas, *God Dealing with Slavery* (Chicago, 1870).
 Williams, M. E., *Abraham Lincoln A Spiritualist* (n.p., [1891]).

This imposing list of books and pamphlets may be cut to three volumes by any student who desires to apply



ANTI-LINCOLN PROPAGANDA

"The spirit of pinkie, an aztec [*sic.*] princess . . . one of the chief factors in the management of our national affairs during most of the time of the Lincoln misrule"

accepted rules of evidence to an investigation of Lincoln's real belief in spiritualism. The first work which may be eliminated from the list is Gordon's leaflet which states that Lincoln "talked to those who were classed as specialists in spiritualism"³ but gives no names, no dates, no concrete instances to prove his allegation. Next, Hulburd's work may be eliminated. This author claimed to have served Lincoln spiritually as a spy during the war but his only proof of fact is an acknowledgment from the spirit of Lincoln speaking in 1901 through the mediumship of Hulburd himself.⁴ In like manner, Thomas Richmond, by his own allegation, served the President as "a battery of brain, mind and thought"⁵ while living in Chicago. At one time, Richmond stated, spirits induced him to go to Washington where he sat in the White House until late in the afternoon awaiting an interview with the President. Finally, the spirit of Benjamin Franklin appeared and told Richmond that his mission had been accomplished and further waiting would not be necessary. After Lincoln's death Richmond claimed to have received three letters from the assassinated President in which the Emancipator stated that he believed in spiritualism and had been helped materially with his problems of state by Richmond's "battery of brain." As proof, Richmond displayed the letters, but they have not been included in any collection of Lincoln's works. Certainly Gordon, Hulburd and Richmond, then, may be eliminated as sources of fact concerning Lincoln as a spiritualist.

³ *Was Abraham Lincoln a Spiritualist?* (Washington, D. C., n.d.), 3.

⁴ E. W. Hulburd, *The Life of Little Justin Hulburd* (Descanso, Calif., 1909), I: 27.

⁵ Thomas Richmond, *God Dealing with Slavery* (Chicago, 1870), 71; another alleged communicant with Lincoln's spirit was Grace Garrett Durand, author of *Sir Oliver is Right* (Lake Forest, Ill., 1916). M. E. Cadwallader, *Abraham Lincoln The Friend of Man* contains equally valuable data.

Another book, *Interior Causes of the War*, is equally worthless, except as an example of a typical whispering campaign document to which the author did not care to affix his name. Some value may be attributed to *Old Abe's Jokes* published in 1864. The book is a hodgepodge of Lincoln items, three of which concern spiritualism. One of these obviously stems from the same source as *Interior Causes of the War* and is equally vague and valueless. The second states that Lincoln consulted a medium for information about his re-election but details of this seance are too meager to be checked. The third item describes a seance at the White House. This account was written by a correspondent of the Boston *Saturday Evening Gazette* and Lincoln is reported to have told the medium, "I have seen strange things and heard rather odd remarks but nothing which convinces me . . . that there is anything very heavenly about all this."⁶ As these stories about Lincoln's belief in spiritualism are contradictory, they cannot all be true. There is no corroborating evidence to substantiate any of them and none can be accepted as historical fact.

Elimination of the odds and ends in this book, *Old Abe's Jokes*, cuts down the list of publications dealing with Lincoln as a spiritualist to six volumes, written by Harlow-Goetz, Fitzgerald, Hall, Maynard and Williams. Of these, three may be discarded. The Harlow-Goetz, Fitzgerald and Williams accounts contain nothing not published elsewhere. None of them are firsthand narratives. All reiterate the same story from apparently the same source. The fact that each author spelled the names of the participants differently indicates that each was repeating the story from hearsay instead of written

⁶ *Old Abe's Jokes* (New York, 1864), 39.

information. Fitzgerald and Williams both described the President at a "physical seance" when a piano moved up and down on the floor, presumably by spirit influence. Abraham Lincoln, they alleged, climbed upon the piano in an effort to hold it down. Both stories are obviously secondhand and stem from the account of the seance told to a *New York Sun* reporter by S. P. Kase, a Philadelphia financier who was present. This account was reprinted by Fayette Hall⁷ and appeared in his first volume. The two hearsay narratives may therefore be eliminated, and all the best source material on Lincoln as a spiritualist can be found in the books of Maynard and Hall.

Dr. Fayette Hall, before writing his two sardonic works on spiritualism, made the acquaintance of all the mediums who were close to Abraham Lincoln and he pronounced their supernatural demonstrations genuine. During a personal interview with the President which Dr. Hall did not enjoy, he became convinced that Lincoln was being influenced by very bad spirits, who "were devilish, for no honorable spirits would require the President to violate his oath and obligations, and perjure himself to obey and carry out their orders by employing the army and the sword."⁸ Hall's work is valuable for the personal information it contains about Lincoln's spiritualist acquaintances and as corroborating evidence for the more detailed Maynard story.

Besides Hall and Maynard, two other mediums, Charles Colchester and Charles Foster, had access to the President. Both are qualified to testify about Lincoln as a spiritualist, but a search has revealed no evidence to

⁷ Fayette Hall, *The Secret and Political History of the War of the Rebellion* (New Haven, 1890), 20.

⁸ Fayette Hall, *The Copperhead or the Secret Political History of our Civil War Unveiled* (New Haven, 1902), 14.

show that either of them has done so. Colchester is generally conceded to have been a mountebank. He claimed, himself, that he would resort to sleight of hand when the spirits were coy.⁹ The statements of Mrs. Maynard, then, confirmed by Fayette Hall, who did not like her, and by the newspaper testimony of S. P. Kase, form the real and only substantial foundation for the stories about Lincoln as a spiritualist. Mrs. Maynard considered the President to be a sincere believer and her testimony deserves to be examined in detail.

Mrs. Maynard, christened Nettie Colburn, was one of those delicate women who live a long life of virtual invalidism. As a little girl she heard supernatural noises. Later, during the furor over spirit-rappings in the late 1840's, she became a trance-medium and permanent speaker for a spiritualist society at Albany. Her father and three brothers enlisted in the Civil War and early in 1862 Nettie decided to visit them in Washington. It is a coincidence, perhaps, that this visit occurred at the same time as Willie Lincoln's death in the White House—a time when the First Family were emotionally susceptible to any spiritual appeal. Nettie came to Washington with a letter of introduction to Thomas Gales Foster, eminent spiritualist speaker and clerk in the War Department. As a member of the Washington spiritualists, Nettie, a child prodigy appearing to be about twelve years of age, attended many seances in various homes and met inquisitive thinkers who were interested also in politics—such people as Congressmen H. L. Dawes of Maine, D. E. Somes of Massachusetts,¹⁰ Ebon

⁹ Nettie Colburn Maynard, *Was Abraham Lincoln a Spiritualist?* (Philadelphia, 1891), 236, 263. Also Noah Brooks, *Washington in Lincoln's Time* (New York, 1896), 64.

¹⁰ Maynard, *Was Abraham Lincoln a Spiritualist?* 40.

Ingersoll, a brother of the great agnostic, and John W. Farnsworth of Illinois. Joshua Speed, the President's youthful confidant, George D. Prentice, Louisville editor and strong supporter of the Union, and John W. Forney attended her seances. Forney, it was said, had been induced by Lincoln to publish a news sheet in Washington to offset the obstreperous influence of the *New York Tribune* with the Army of the Potomac. At a seance Nettie also met Cranston Laurie, a trance-medium from Georgetown, and his daughter, Mrs. Belle Miller, a physical-medium for whom a piano would dance when under spiritual control. The Lauries knew the Lincolns through Kentucky friends¹¹ and it was at the Laurie house that Nettie and the President's wife became acquainted. The First Lady expressed a desire to see a trance-medium and Nettie obliged her by going "under control" for an hour. When Nettie awoke she was surrounded by an earnest and excited group and Mrs. Lincoln exclaimed, "This young lady must not leave Washington. I feel she must stay here, and Mr. Lincoln must hear what we have heard. It is all-important, and he must hear it."¹² Mrs. Lincoln then turned to old Jesse Newton of the Interior Department, who was an ardent spiritualist¹³ and requested him to find a place for her in his department. With a job, Nettie became a permanent resident of the capital. Some weeks later, Mrs. Lincoln requested Mrs. Laurie to bring her daughter and Nettie Colburn to the White House, where she received them in the Red Room. Mr. Lincoln was not present and the guests engaged in general conversation while Mrs. Belle

¹¹ Hall, *The Copperhead*, 36.

¹² Maynard, *Was Abraham Lincoln a Spiritualist?* 67.

¹³ Theodore Calvin Pease and James G. Randall, eds., *The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning* (Col. of Ill. State Hist. Lib., XX, Springfield, 1925), I: 608.

Miller "under control" seated herself at the grand piano at one side of the room.

The succeeding events are best described in Nettie's own words:

Mrs. Lincoln was talking with us in a pleasant strain when suddenly Mrs. Miller's hands fell upon the keys with a force that betokened a master hand, and the strains of a grand march filled the room. As the measured notes rose and fell we became silent. The heavy end of the piano began rising and falling in perfect time to the music. All at once it ceased, and Mr. Lincoln stood upon the threshold of the room. (He afterwards informed us that the first notes of the music fell upon his ears as he reached the head of the grand staircase to descend, and that he kept step to the music until he reached the doorway). Mr. and Mrs. Laurie and Mrs. Miller were duly presented. Then I was led forward and presented. He stood before me, tall and kindly, with a smile on his face. Dropping his hand upon my head, he said, in a humorous tone, "So that is our 'little Nettie' is it, that we have heard so much about?" I could only smile and say, "Yes, sir," like any school-girl. . . . It was then suggested we form in a circle. He said, "Well, how do you do it?" looking at me. Mr. Laurie came to the rescue, and said we had been accustomed to sit in a circle and to join hands; but he did not think it would be necessary in this instance. While he was yet speaking, I lost all consciousness of my surroundings and passed under control. For more than an hour I was made to talk to him, and I learned from my friends afterward that it was upon matters that he seemed fully to understand, while they comprehended very little until that portion was reached that related to the forthcoming Emancipation Proclamation. He was charged with the utmost solemnity and force of manner not to abate the terms of its issue, and not to delay its enforcement as a law beyond the opening of the year; and he was assured that it was to be the *crowning event of his administration and his life*. . . . Those present declared that they lost sight of the timid girl in the majesty of the utterance. . . .

I shall never forget the scene around me when I regained consciousness. I was standing in front of Mr. Lincoln, and he was sitting back in his chair, with his arms folded upon his breast, looking intently at me. I stepped back, naturally confused at the situation—not remembering at once where I was. . . . At last he turned to me, and laying his hand upon my head, uttered these words in a manner that I shall never forget: "My

child, you possess a very singular gift; but that it is of God, I have no doubt. I thank you for coming here to-night. It is more important than perhaps any one present can understand. I must leave you all now; but I hope I shall see you again." He shook me kindly by the hand, bowed to the rest of the company, and was gone. We remained an hour longer, talking with Mrs. Lincoln and her friends, and then returned to Georgetown.¹⁴

Such are the details of Abraham Lincoln's first seance, an account which has not lost anything in the telling since Nettie must have been influenced by wishful thinking. Yet there is nothing in the whole dialogue that indicates that Abraham Lincoln did or said any more than any other President or politician would have done in the same situation. Had this been Lincoln's last experience with the new cult, there would be no question about his attitude toward it, but within two months he is reported to have been present at another seance—the famous one which has been the foundation for most of the Lincoln stories.

On February 5, 1863, Mrs. Lincoln sent word to Nettie Colburn to join a "circle" at the Laurie home. The President did not plan to attend. The guests included Congressman Somes from Maine and S. P. Kase, the Philadelphian seeking a railroad franchise, John W. Forney, the journalist, and Fayette Hall. Three of the guests later corroborated the details of this meeting, thus establishing its authenticity as definitely as many accepted facts in history. To everybody's surprise the President attended the party.

Mrs. Lincoln explained that he had come down from a cabinet meeting as she and her friends were about to enter the carriage, and had asked where they were going.

¹⁴ Maynard, *Was Abraham Lincoln a Spiritualist?* 71-74.

"To Georgetown; to a circle," Mrs. Lincoln had replied.

"Hold on a moment," the President answered, "I will go with you."

In this casual, extemporaneous manner, then, the President attended his second seance and Mrs. Lincoln told her guests, "I was never so surprised in my life."¹⁵

The meeting seems to have been quite informal. Mr. and Mrs. Laurie and Mrs. Miller at Lincoln's request sang several old Scotch songs, including one that Lincoln particularly enjoyed, "Bonnie Doon." Nettie watched the President furtively and reported later:

I can see him now, as he sat in the old high-backed rocking-chair; one leg thrown over the arm; leaning back in utter weariness, with his eyes closed, listening to the low, strong, and clear yet plaintive notes, rendered as only the Scotch can sing their native melodies. I looked at his face, and it appeared tired and haggard. He seemed older by years than when I had seen him a few weeks previously. The whole party seemed anxious and troubled; but all interest centered in the chief, and all eyes and thoughts were turned on him. At the end of the song he turned to me and said, "Well, Miss Nettie; do you think you have anything to say to me to-night?" . . . "If I have not, there may be *others* who have." He nodded his head in a pleasant manner, saying, "Suppose we see what they will have to tell us."¹⁶

Among the spirits who spoke through Nettie was one known as "Old Dr. Bamford," whose quaint dialect, old-fashioned methods of expression, and straightforwardness of utterance made him quite a favorite with the President. He talked the language Lincoln enjoyed in anecdotes. The old Yankee soon took possession of the little medium and told the President that the army was demoralized since the recent appointment of Gen-

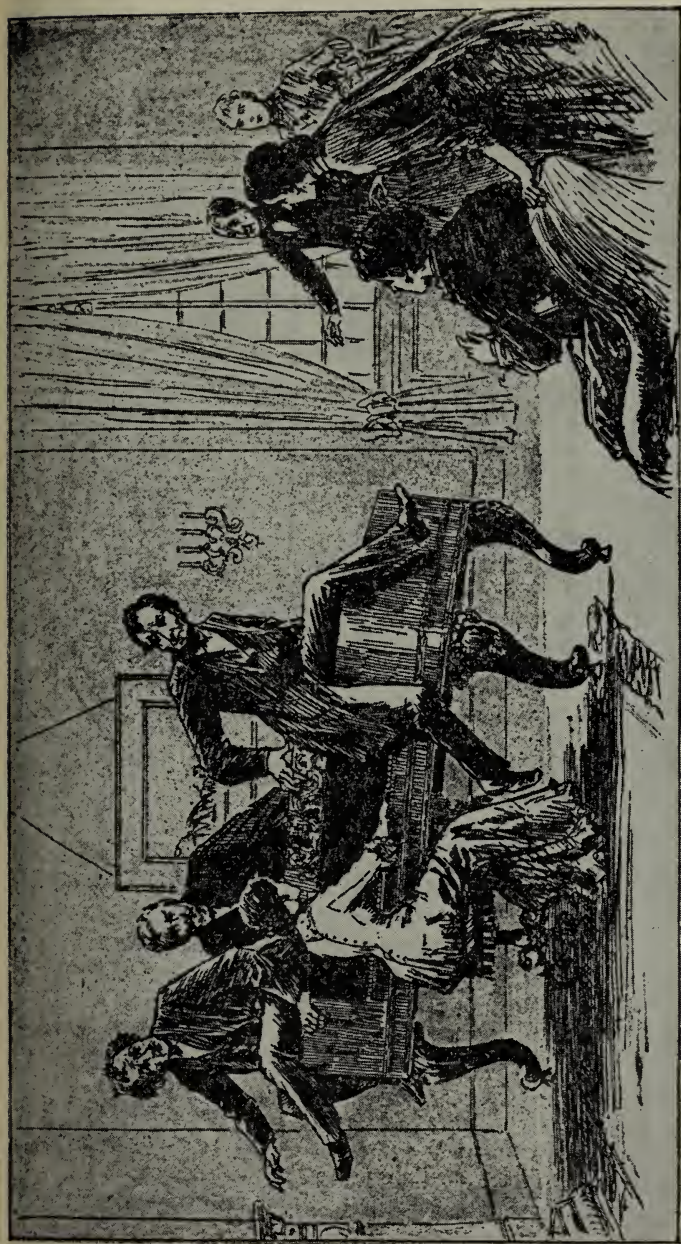
¹⁵ Maynard, *Was Abraham Lincoln a Spiritualist?* 83.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 83-85.

eral Hooker—a thing that Lincoln knew very well. Dr. Bamford suggested that the army's morale would be improved if the President would make a personal visit to the lines. Years later the medium stated that on the following day, Sunday, John W. Forney's *Gazette*, taking a tip from the seance, announced that Abraham Lincoln proposed visiting the troops. The records, however, tell a different story. As a matter of fact the following day, February 6, 1863, was not Sunday; it was Friday. Moreover, Forney did not publish the *Gazette*; he published the *Chronicle*. And Lincoln did not visit the troops until over two months after the seance. Aside from these discrepancies the most that can be said for the military significance of the story is that it has not been denied. When it was first told, the principals were dead. Further confusion obscures the details of this story when it is compared with the account told by S. P. Kase who maintained that the date was December, 1862, not February, 1863; that Nettie talked to the President about the Emancipation Proclamation, not about General Hooker; and that the seance was held in the White House, not at Laurie's home.

One trivial incident at the seance, however, impressed both the guests and was verified also by Fayette Hall. This was Lincoln's contest with the waltzing piano which has been narrated as follows:

Mrs. Miller played upon the piano (a three-cornered grand), and under her influence it "rose and fell," keeping time to her touch in a perfectly regular manner. Mr. Laurie suggested that, as an added "test" of the invisible power that moved the piano, Mrs. Miller (his daughter) should place her hand on the instrument, *standing at arm's length from it*, to show that she was in no wise connected with its movement other than as *agent*. Mr. Lincoln then placed his hand underneath the piano, at the end nearest Mrs. Miller, who placed



THE FAMOUS SEANCE OF FEBRUARY 5, 1863—BASIS OF THE MOST AUTHENTIC STORIES
ABOUT LINCOLN AND SPIRITUALISM

her *left* hand upon his to demonstrate that neither strength nor pressure was used. In this position the piano rose and fell a number of times at her bidding. At Mr. Laurie's desire the President changed his position to another side, meeting with the same result.

The President, with a quaint smile, said, "I think we can hold down that instrument." Whereupon he climbed upon it, sitting with his legs dangling over the side, as also did Mr. Somes, S. P. Kase, and a soldier in the uniform of a major. . . . The piano, notwithstanding this enormous added weight, continued to wobble about until the sitters were glad to "vacate the premises." . . . Mr. Lincoln expressed himself perfectly satisfied that the motion was caused by some "invisible power;" and when Mr. Somes remarked, "When I have related to my acquaintances, Mr. President, that which I have experienced to-night, they will say, with a knowing look and wise demeanor, 'You were psychologized, and as a matter of fact (*versus* fancy) you *did not* see what you in reality *did see*.'" Mr. Lincoln quietly replied, "You should bring such person here, and when the piano seems to rise, have him slip his foot under the leg and be *convinced* (doubtless) by the weight of *evidence* resting upon his *understanding*."

When the laughter caused by this rally had subsided, the President wearily sank into an arm-chair, "the old tired, anxious look returning to his face."¹⁷

This, then, is the grand total of Lincoln's second recorded and best authenticated experience with spiritualism. It is significant, too, that Lincoln's only allegation of belief in the cult was the remark that he was "perfectly satisfied that the motion [of the piano] was caused by some 'invisible power.'" Certainly no one will question that statement. The little medium also admitted, "Mrs. Lincoln was more enthusiastic regarding the subject than her husband, and openly and avowedly professed herself connected with the new religion"—a statement confirmed by practical-minded Colonel William Crook, bodyguard to the President.¹⁸

¹⁷ Maynard, *Was Abraham Lincoln a Spiritualist?* 90-91.

¹⁸ Maynard, *Was Abraham Lincoln a Spiritualist?* 93. Also William H. Crook, *Through Five Administrations* (New York, 1910), 69-70.

Lincoln was reported to have been present at a seance three months later. This time he attended by accident. On the day of the Battle of Chancellorsville, Nettie with a friend, Parthenia Hannum, had stopped at the White House conservatory to get some flowers for her eldest brother who was in a Washington hospital. Expecting only to get the flowers and depart, Nettie was surprised to encounter Mrs. Cuthbert, Mrs. Lincoln's maid, at the door.

"Oh, my dear young ladies," she exclaimed in her broken French fashion, "the madam is deestracted. Come to her, I beg of you. She wants you very much." Surprised at her earnestness, we went upstairs and were ushered into her bedroom. Mrs. Lincoln, in a loose wrapper, her long beautiful hair down her back and over her shoulders, was distractedly walking up and down the room. As she saw me she came forward and exclaimed, "Oh, Miss Nettie, such dreadful news; they are fighting at the front; such terrible slaughter; and all our generals are killed and our army is in full retreat; such is the latest news. Oh, I am glad you have come. Will you sit down a few moments and see if we can get anything from 'beyond?' ". . .

I threw my things aside and we at once sat down. "Pinkie" controlled me instantly, and, in her own original way, assured Mrs. Lincoln that her alarm was groundless. . . . This calmed her somewhat, and after I awoke she talked very earnestly with me to know if I fully trusted and believed in what was said through me. . . . It was now approaching one o'clock, and Mr. Lincoln entered the room; he was bowed as if bent with trouble, his face looking anxious and careworn. He shook my hand in a listless way and kindly inquired how I was, shaking hands with my friend also. He sat down at a little stand on which Mrs. Cuthbert had placed a cup of tea and a plate of crackers. It seemed that it was his custom at this hour to partake of this frugal lunch. Mrs. Lincoln instantly began to tell him what had been said. He looked up with quick interest. My friend Parnie said, "Perhaps Mr. Lincoln would prefer to hear it direct; would you not like to, Mr. Lincoln?" He said, "If it would not tire your friend too much, yes." I hastened to assure him that I felt no weariness whatever, and again I was soon under control. This time it was the strong clear utterance of one we had learned to call "Wisdom;" and Parnie told me that Mr. Lincoln listened

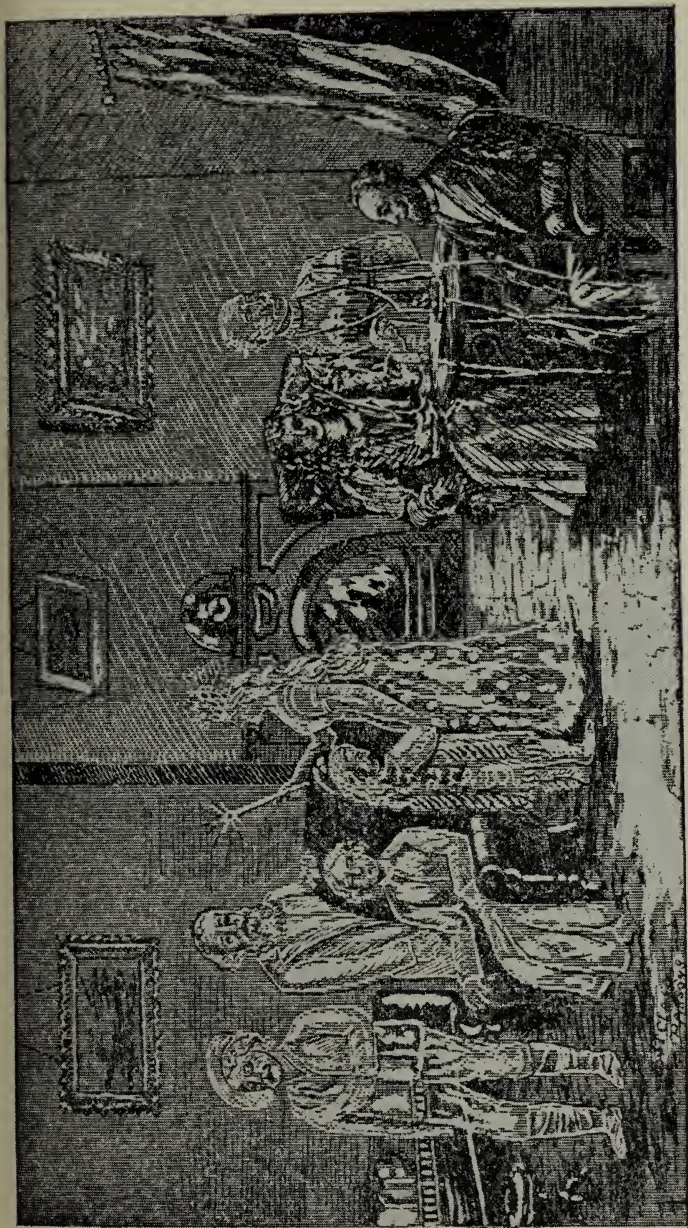
intently to every word. For twenty minutes "he" talked to him, stating clearly the condition of affairs at the front; assuring him of what news he would receive by nightfall, and what the morrow would bring forth; and that in no wise was the battle disastrous; and though not decisive particularly in character, was sufficiently so to be a gain, not a loss, to the Union cause. . . . When I awoke his tea stood untasted and cold, and as none seemed to think of it that should have done so, my friend quietly arose, and, taking it from the stand, handed it to Mrs. Cuthbert, and said, "Change this for a hot cup of tea, and bring it soon." No one seemed to think she was stepping out of her place in thus thinking of the weary man before us. It was quickly brought, and he drank it with a relish, but left the crackers untasted. He shook us warmly by the hand, and with a pleasant smile passed back to his private apartments.¹⁹

In spite of Nettie's reassurances, Chancellorsville was another Union reverse costing the commander, General Hooker, his job. He was the third general to fail and the war after two years was near low tide for the North. Prior to this time it had been customary for prominent politicians to raise and command regiments of their constituents. Continued failure of these citizen organizations convinced the administration that the system was not satisfactory; that more efficiency would be gained by assigning new recruits to the skeletons of old and seasoned corps. The patriotism of some politicians was dampened by this policy and at least one of them, Morgan Chrysler in Massachusetts, appealed to Nettie Colburn to intercede with the President and keep his newly recruited battalion from being disintegrated.²⁰ The little medium is credited with success in this mission but there is no evidence that she appealed to the President by spirit means.

During the summer of 1863 spiritualism had a serious setback in Washington. All manner of quack seances

¹⁹ Maynard, *Was Abraham Lincoln a Spiritualist?* 93-102.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 114.



PRESIDENT LINCOLN WITH HIS SPIRIT CABINET
Left to right—Romano, Wisdom, Priscilla, Bright Eyes, Pinkie, Medium,
Old Dr. Bamford, President Lincoln

were held by swindlers and persons mentally deranged. The malignant effects of this notoriety caused the conservative spiritualists to organize meetings for discussion of the philosophy by their ablest speakers. Nettie Colburn was selected to demonstrate the occult science at its best. In the White House Mrs. Lincoln became disturbed by rumors of the cult's disrepute and requested Nettie to come to the mansion and give a test seance. A prominent person would be present in disguise, Mrs. Lincoln said, and Nettie might prove the genuineness of her "gift" if the spirit of "Pinkie" could identify him. The Red Parlor was selected for this experiment and Nettie recalled afterward that the distinguished guest appeared to be a "soldierly-looking gentleman, who was wrapped in a long military cloak, completely concealing his person and every evidence of rank."²¹ She did not add that only one boot showed beneath his cloak and that most Washingtonians knew that the President was on terms of intimacy with a general who had recently lost a leg at Gettysburg.

A pleasant half-hour of conversation intervened before the President made his appearance. After a cordial greeting, he wearily seated himself in an armchair and remarked, "I am very busy and must forego the pleasure of conversation and ask our little friend here to see what can be given us to-night as briefly as may be." Silence fell on the group. Nettie became entranced and spoke to the President in a strong voice, recommending to him the formation of a freedman's bureau to take care of the emancipated blacks. With this problem of state attended to, the assembly looked forward to the "test"—the identification of the unknown soldier. For this, Nettie

²¹ Maynard, *Was Abraham Lincoln a Spiritualist?* 129.

went under control of Pinkie, the little Indian maid, and after greeting the President and Mrs. Lincoln in pidgin English, she turned and confronted the stranger. Without the slightest hesitation she addressed him as "Crooked Knife."²² The cloaked man was General Sickles and the company agreed that Nettie Colburn had withstood the test required by Mrs. Lincoln. The President did not remain for more of the conversation but excused himself to attend a cabinet meeting, well pleased no doubt with the charming little vixen. From this time on, Nettie said, she had many seances with the President and Mrs. Lincoln, private affairs to which she was invited by Mrs. Lincoln. Nothing is known about these meetings except that they were held during the short interval while Lincoln lunched with his wife. That such diversion may have been beneficial to the war-worried President is hardly open to argument.

Details have been preserved of only one other seance attended by Abraham Lincoln—making five in all. The last occurred in 1864, and according to the medium's story, is by far the most important ever held in the White House. Only one account by an eyewitness has been preserved and this was told by the medium who conducted it—certainly very weak historical proof of fact. Perhaps the only justification for repeating the story is the apparent sincerity of the narrator, Nettie Colburn, whose previous story about the waltzing piano can be verified, although her memory of dates, names and other details of that seance are untrustworthy. In all of her accounts of seances with the President, excepting only the last one, it is noticeable that Abraham

²² Maynard, *Was Abraham Lincoln a Spiritualist?* 131.

Lincoln was merely a spectator, interested in the manifestations of a so-called spiritual phenomenon that was engrossing the attention of many of his constituents. But in the last seance, if the medium's narrative may be accepted, Lincoln showed real concern.

The fall of 1864 was a time of great discouragement. Almost a year had elapsed without any Northern victory of consequence. The date for Lincoln's re-election was approaching and unless a smashing victory could be delivered his defeat seemed imminent. Two desperate chances were determined upon. The Army of the Potomac would be moved south of Richmond to cut off Lee's supplies. In doing this the army might be isolated and destroyed exactly as Cornwallis' army had been isolated and destroyed in Virginia during the Revolution. McClellan, two years earlier, had been denied permission to attempt such rashness, but now under Grant the chance was taken. As a gambler might say, it was to be "doubles or quits." Equally hazardous, Sherman in the West would move into the heart of the South isolating his army in the same dangerous fashion. If the two movements succeeded the war was over. If they failed—

In making a decision of such magnitude, a man as cautious as Lincoln is known to have been might have consulted every angle of opinion before embarking on the enterprise. Congressman Somes, according to report, was asked to bring Nettie Colburn to the White House for a secret session. "Consider the matter confidential,"²³ Lincoln warned the Congressman.

At the appointed time Mr. Somes and the medium were hurried upstairs to the executive chamber, where

²³ Maynard, *Was Abraham Lincoln a Spiritualist?* 164.

Mr. Lincoln and two gentlemen were waiting. Mr. Lincoln ordered a servant to summon Mrs. Lincoln and she entered the room a moment later. Mr. Lincoln then gently stated that he wished to give the medium an opportunity to display her rare gift. "You need not be afraid, as these friends have seen something of this before." The two men's costumes gave no indication of their identity. Both were muffled to their chins in frock coats, but striped pantaloons disclosed the fact that they were military officers. One of them was tall and thickset, with auburn hair, side-whiskers and dark eyes. The other was shorter, with light brown hair and blue eyes. He had a quick and nervous manner. Nettie thought that she detected a deferential, half-appealing look which indicated his subordination to the taller man.

As the time for the seance approached all sat silently for a few moments and Nettie went under control. She recalled:

One hour later I became conscious of my surroundings, and was standing by a long table, upon which was a large map of the Southern States. In my hand was a lead pencil, and the tall man, with Mr. Lincoln, was standing beside me, bending over the map, while the younger man was standing on the other side of the table, looking curiously and intently at me. Somewhat embarrassed, I glanced around to note Mrs. Lincoln quietly conversing in another part of the room. The only remarks I heard were these: "It is astonishing," said Mr. Lincoln, "how every line she has drawn conforms to the plan agreed upon." "Yes," answered the older soldier, "it is very astonishing." Looking up, they both saw that I was awake, and they instantly stepped back, while Mr. Lincoln took the pencil from my hand and placed a chair for me.

Then madam and Mr. Somes at once joined us, Mr. Somes asking, "Well, was everything satisfactory?" "Perfectly," responded Mr. Lincoln. . . . The conversation then turned, designedly I felt, to commonplace matters.

Shortly afterwards, when about leaving, Mr. Lincoln said to us in a low voice, "It is best not to mention this meeting at present." Assuring him of silence upon the question, we were soon upon our way.²⁴

So ended the last recorded seance with Abraham Lincoln. During the political campaign in the fall of 1864 Nettie took active part as a trance-medium on platforms in New England, bringing messages from the spirit world urging the re-election of Abraham Lincoln whom she was destined to see but once more in life.²⁵ In February she returned to Washington, intending to remain for the inauguration, but word was received from New England that her father was seriously ill. Having an engagement the succeeding week with Mrs. Lincoln, Nettie went to the White House to offer her apologies, and learning that the First Lady was not at home, she confided to Edward, the doorman, that she would like a brief interview with the President. Although it was during the last days of the expiring Congress and the anterooms were filled, Edward arranged for a few moments between callers, and Nettie with a companion was ushered into the executive offices. Nettie stated:

He stood at his table busily looking over some papers, but laid them down and greeted us with his usual genial smile. In as few words as possible, knowing how precious was his time, we informed him of the cause of our unseasonable call, stating I had been summoned home by a telegram telling me my father was dangerously ill. Looking at me with a quizzical smile, he said, "But cannot our friends from the upper country tell you whether his illness is likely to prove fatal or not?" I replied that I had already consulted with our friends, and they had assured me that his treatment was wrong, and that my presence was needed to effect a cure. Turning to my friend, he said laughingly, "I didn't catch her, did I?"²⁶

²⁴ Maynard, *Was Abraham Lincoln a Spiritualist?* 165-66.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 173 ff.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 180.

This is Lincoln's last recorded word on spiritualism and without doubt it tells his whole attitude toward the new cult.

Turning to Nettie the President then said, "I am sorry you cannot remain to witness the inauguration, as no doubt you wish."

"Indeed we would enjoy it," Nettie replied. "But the crowd will be so great we will not be able to see you, Mr. Lincoln, even if we remain."

"You could not help it," he answered, straightening his back, stretching to the full six feet, four inches of his height. "I shall be the tallest man there."

"That is true," Nettie's friend replied, "in every sense of the word."

With a pleasant nod at this compliment Lincoln turned to Nettie remarking, "But what do our friends say of us now?"

"What they predicted for you, Mr. Lincoln, has come to pass," she answered. "And you are to be inaugurated the second time." Lincoln nodded acknowledgment. "But they also re-affirm that the shadow they have spoken of still hangs over you."

Impatiently the President turned half away. Then said, "Yes, I know. I have letters from all over the country from your kind of people—mediums, I mean—warning me against some dreadful plot against my life. But I don't think the knife is made, or the bullet run, that will reach it."

A shadow of deep melancholy passed across his face and he continued thoughtfully, "Well, Miss Nettie, I shall live till my work is done, and no earthly power can prevent it. And then it doesn't matter so that I am ready—and that I ever mean to be." His face brightened

suddenly and extending a hand to each of the girls he said, "Well, I suppose I must bid you good-bye, but we shall hope to see you back again next fall."

"We shall certainly come," the girls replied, "*if you are here.*"

"It looks like it now," he answered, holding open a side door and with another cordial handshake the little spiritualist passed out of his presence forever.²⁷

²⁷ Maynard, *Was Abraham Lincoln a Spiritualist?* 180-81.

AN ICARIAN IN NAUVOO

BY SHERMAN B. BARNES

TWO letters written by a member of the Icarian community who was in Nauvoo from March 15, 1849 to the spring of 1851 have been recently published in a French journal.¹ These letters of a Parisian carpenter, Pierre Roux, make it possible to tell a somewhat fuller story of the coming of the Icarians to Nauvoo and what they, or at least one of them, felt about their experiences than has so far appeared. The sources so far exploited in writing the history of this communist experiment have largely consisted of the books, pamphlets and periodicals from the pen of its promoter, Etienne Cabet. These sources reveal more about the fraternal intentions and propagandist methods of Cabet and of those who agreed with him than they do about the motives of those who came to tire of Cabet's plans and methods. In Part II of what follows, Roux's letters will be connected with the problem of why the Icarian community did not live long as seen from within the community as a whole instead of solely from the point of view of Cabet's propaganda.

¹ *La Revolution de 1848*, No. CLXX (Paris, Sept.-Oct.-Nov., 1939); unless otherwise indicated statements of fact in this article are from these hitherto unpublished letters by Pierre Roux dated April 16, 1849 and Nov. 10, 1850. The basis for thinking Roux departed in the spring of 1851 is his statement in his 1850 letter that he intended to leave the following spring. Lists of the members of the colony printed in the *Colonie Icarienne* in 1854 show that there was a Roux present, but his home in France was given as Givors, not Paris. *Colonie Icarienne*, July 26, 1854.

I

Pierre Roux, a carpenter living in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, Paris, became interested in the social doctrines of Etienne Cabet (1788-1856). In the latter part of February, 1848, King Louis Philippe, who reigned from 1830 to 1848, fled to London, and a provisional republican government was proclaimed in Paris. This event divided the followers of Cabet on the issue of whether to emigrate to America to build their social utopia of equality and fraternity or to remain in France. Before the Revolution, on February 3, 1848, seventy Icarians had departed for the Red River, Texas, to serve as an advance guard "to explore, choose and prepare"² for the main body of Cabet's disciples. But after the events of the February Revolution "*beaucoup d'Icariens, esperant le progrès en France avec la Revolution, ne voulurent plus émigrer; beaucoup d'autres, se trouvant ruinés, ne purent plus ni partir ni faire aucun sacrifice.*"³

Pierre Roux belonged to the group of workers who decided to try their fortunes in America as "soldiers of humanity."⁴ He took his wife with him. They embarked from Le Havre on November 28, 1848 and reached New Orleans early in February, 1849. In spite of stormy weather, seasickness, jealousies, one death and the desertion of two Icarians at an English port, these utopians had much enthusiasm for their cause. At times they amused themselves on shipboard with singing, music, and dancing. Roux's wife was ill throughout the crossing, but did not once repent her adventure.

² Etienne Cabet, *Colonie icarienne aux Etats-Unis d'Amérique* (Paris, 1856), 12.

³ Cabet, *Colonie icarienne aux Etats-Unis*, 13. "Many Icarians, hoping the revolution in France would bring progress, no longer wished to emigrate; many others, being ruined, no longer could depart nor make any sacrifice."

⁴ A phrase used by faithful Icarians many times about themselves.

Roux was in New Orleans from early February to March 1, 1849. Here his spirits rose, partly because he had friends here, partly because he met the leader, Cabet, who had arrived in New Orleans, January 19, 1849,⁵ at about the same time the Icarian advance guards came there from their unsuccessful efforts in Texas. Some greeted Cabet as their Messiah, their Father,⁶ but the Icarians who had failed to find contentment in Texas were less enthusiastic about him, as was to be expected. They thought more of throwing him into prison than of giving him an ovation.⁷ Because of this opposition within the ranks, Cabet offered his followers an opportunity to abandon the enterprise, proposing to return 200 francs to each one who withdrew. Cabet stated that 20,000 francs were dispersed to 205 disappointed followers who wanted to return to France.⁸ A cholera epidemic in New Orleans and a reference in Roux's letters to the difficulty of obtaining work in New Orleans suggest other reasons for their disillusionment. Once more, Roux was among those (the majority)⁹ who persevered. He reflected as follows on those who withdrew:

Cet une chose presque inévitable dans une entreprise de ce genre, quant il faut se dépouiller des vices invétérés, d'une société corrompue, car il est bien

⁵ Cabet, *Colonie icarienne aux Etats-Unis*, 14. Cabet left France not only because of love of his disciples; he did not admire the new Republic in France; he accused it of being "too bourgeois" and he was in prison in Paris for a month in 1848 on charges of fraud and of having eleven rifles in the office of his paper, *Le Populaire*.

⁶ *Opinions et sentiments publiquement exprimés concernant le Fondateur d'Icarie* (Paris, mars, 1856), 18.

⁷ L. Gosselin (G. Lenotre, pseud.), *Histoires de Police et d'Aventure* (Paris, 1936), 104. This book contains a good account of the Icarians' search for "the phantom city."

⁸ *Colonie icarienne aux Etats-Unis*; Gosselin, *Histoires*, 104.

⁹ Gosselin says that 485 Icarians met Cabet on his arrival in New Orleans; Cabet gives the majority who were faithful as 280, of which 142 were men, 74 women, 64 children; the *Quincy Whig*, March 20, 1849, reports that there were 281 French communists on board the *American Eagle* when it wharfed at Quincy, March 13.

*reconnu que tous ceux que nous quittent sont ou ambitieux ou peu initiés dans nos principes d'égalité et de fraternité, il est à remarquer surtout qu'ils se mettent toujours en contradiction avec les engagements qu'ils ont contracté après mûre réflexion.*¹⁰

French realism and love of logical consistency are more apparent in this comment than any feeling of emotional outrage such as Cabet had toward the deserters. It is less realistic that Roux generalized instead of mentioning specific causes of disillusionment, the futile wanderings in Texas, the cholera, the climate, the lack of resources and of proper tools and clothing, the suspicions of transition toward his decision at a later date to abandon the utopia.

Roux, writing to his friends in Paris, a little over a month after leaving New Orleans, gave them some of his observations on that city. There were large steamboats, some burning thirty to forty cords of wood in twenty-four hours. The town, in his eyes, had remarkable commercial activity, but was unhealthful, and "one day one sank to the eyes in mud, the next day one is blinded by dust."

When the scouts returned and reported a better site, the French communists started up the river on the *Marshall Ney* on March 1, 1849. There probably were 281 of them on board.¹¹ They believed that although they had not built a society based on fraternity along the Red River, they would be able to do so farther north at Nauvoo, Illinois. On March 9 they changed at St. Louis to the *American Eagle*. On March 13 this steam-

¹⁰ "It is a thing almost inevitable in an enterprise of this kind, when it is necessary to throw off the inveterate vices of a corrupt society, for it is well known that all of those who leave us are either ambitious or little instructed in our principles of equality and fraternity; it is above all to be noticed that those who leave contradict the obligations that they have contracted after ripe reflection."

¹¹ This is the number the officers of the *American Eagle* mentioned to citizens of Quincy when the ship docked at Quincy. *Quincy Whig*, March 20, 1849.

boat stopped at Quincy, where the optimistic Icarians, probably through the medium of the ship's officers, gave the impression to Quincy people that "M. Cabet and company led the way, and 30,000 follow in their wake."¹² North of St. Louis "enormous icebergs" at times struck dangerously violent blows against the *American Eagle*, which, however, safely reached Nauvoo on March 15, 1849.

Cabet tells us that he chose Nauvoo as a suitable site because it was easy to reach by steamboat, its climate was healthful, its land fertile, and, above all, because the Mormons having departed, the town contained available houses and workshops.¹³ Another possible reason appears from Roux's letters: he stated that the inhabitants at Nauvoo were kindly disposed toward the Icarians. It was important for them to find a healthful location. Roux's letters reveal that when the emigrants arrived at New Orleans, cholera was raging; twenty Icarians died in the epidemic between February 1 and April 16, 1849.

II

The story of all the Icarians did in Nauvoo is not to be told here.¹⁴ They carried on their experiment in communal sharing of work and wealth until the fall of 1858, when the last Icarians devoted to the utopian idea left Nauvoo to continue the experiment at Cheltenham,

¹² *Quincy Whig*, March 20, 1849.

¹³ Cabet, *Colonie icarienne aux Etats-Unis*, 14.

¹⁴ The only full and scholarly account to my knowledge is Jules Prudhommeaux, *Histoire de la communaut  icarienne* (Nimes, France, 1906). The author of this book traveled in the United States in the fall of 1904, studied Icarian documents, and interviewed descendants of the Icarians in Nauvoo, Ill., St. Louis, Mo., and Corning, Iowa. The most accessible account is the Federal Writers' Project of Illinois, *Nauvoo Guide* (Chicago, 1939); this little book has a chapter entitled "Utopia Comes to Nauvoo;" the scholar must use it with caution.

Missouri, and Corning, Iowa, which efforts do not concern this paper. The community was incorporated by the Illinois legislature on February 14, 1851. The personnel of the colony was always shifting. Some left never to return, others departed, changed their minds, and were readmitted; some were refused readmission. A census printed in the July 19, 1854, issue of the *Colonie Icarienne* stated that there were then 405 members, of whom 325 were French and 65 German. By 1855 there may have been over 500.¹⁵ The chief source of new recruits was the arrival of emigrant groups from France. The journal of the voyage from France of a group in 1851 shows that efforts were made to propagandize and convert fellow travelers who were not Icarians.¹⁶ A Paris bureau headed by M. Beluze organized the groups to go to Nauvoo. A group of 90 Icarians who embarked from Le Havre in September, 1855, did so in spite of the knowledge that they then had of dissension within the colony. Here is their justification of their persistence:

*La situation était embarrassante; mais n'étions-nous pas déjà les soldats de l'Humanité En France, n'avions-nous pas défendu notre cause? D'ailleurs le vieux Monde est si malheureux; et puis nous partons pour aider à fonder la Communauté, et non pour en jouir. C'est pourquoi, nous n'avons hésité, nous n'avons pas reculé, nous avons protesté, et nous sommes partis.*¹⁷

¹⁵ John Reynolds, *My Own Times* ([Belleville], 1855), 588.

¹⁶ *Colonie Icarienne*, Dec. 27, 1854.

¹⁷ *Manifestations et adresses par les Icariciens de Nauvoo au Fondateur d'Icarie* (Paris, juin, 1856), 11-12, 22. "The situation was embarrassing; but were we not already soldiers of humanity? In France had we not defended our cause? Moreover, the old world is so evil; and moreover we leave in order to aid in founding the community and not to enjoy it. That is why we have not hesitated, we have not held back, we protested and we departed." The third sentence in this statement is an excellent example of how the Icarians, like others who had the nineteenth century doctrine of progress, were pessimistic about past history, thought the present difficult, but had infinite hopes about the future. For the history of the idea of progress see J. B. Bury, *The Idea of Progress* (New York, 1932) and for a portrayal of the inadequacy of the idea see Nikolai Berdiaev, *The Meaning of History* (New York, 1936), Ch. X.

At Nauvoo this group would not enter the colony, which they felt lacked fraternity, and soon returned to New Orleans, where they were discomforted by difficulty in collecting money due them from an agent of Cabet.¹⁸

Dissension over whether to adopt private ownership and unrestricted production for personal profit wrecked the colony. The greed of human nature is probably a weaker explanation than the fact that in the 1850's the institutional framework in America within which Cabet's attempted utopia was set provided opportunity for profitable personal initiative. The decline of the colony illustrated, ironically, the truth of the Cabesian dictum (not original with him) that institutions are the cause of all evil.¹⁹ The truth of this hypothesis concerning the decline of Icaria must be tested by examination of Roux's letters.

We do not know what Pierre Roux did after November 10, 1850, the date of his second letter. But on that date he wrote his Parisian friends that he had decided to leave Nauvoo and the colony the following spring and asked them to remit him 200 francs. He may have postponed his departure as long as he did because he first wished to learn English, the study of which he said he was carrying on.²⁰ He disliked the colony's constitution because it did not permit one to have "*un sou*." He then added:

¹⁸ *Manifestations et adresses par les Icariens*, 22-31.

¹⁹ Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie* (Paris, 1839); Cabet's place in the history of socialist thought has recently been studied by S. A. Piotrowski in *Etienne Cabet and the Voyage en Icarie* (Washington, D. C., 1935). Cabet was greater as a man of action who tried to apply his ideas than he was as an original thinker.

²⁰ In 1854 the *Colonie Icarienne* advertised for the services of an English teacher for the colony. Cabet himself probably spoke English; at any rate he was in exile in England, 1834-1839.

*Les raisons principales qui nous font quitter, sont le froid excessif qui altère la santé de ma femme . . . et d'une autre côté l'espèce d'esclavage dans lequel on nous tiens, en nous empêchant de frequ'enter les habitants du pays qui sont democrates, doux et affables.*²¹

Moreover, he referred to several of his friends having left the communal life and bettered their position. He apparently wished to throw himself into "the acquisitive society." His letters show that he thought in terms of prices; he itemized the low prices of a number of articles: powder, fresh pork, venison, etc. Also, he had money and used it to make purchases outside the colony, as clearly appears from the following, though the rules of utopia prohibited personal possession of money and abolished the wage system:

*Nous venons d'acheter 3 chevreuils a Raison de deux sous et demi la livre et une de nos conaissance dans la ville a acheté ces jours-ci deux poules de prairie et un lapin le tout pour la somme de 75 centimes. La poudre se vendre 75 centimes la livre, l'on n'a pas de port d'arme pour chasser.*²²

It is evident that Roux's letters exhibit the spirit that more than any other cause was to defeat the purpose of the Icarian community. It is kin to the spirit that the Icarian "Prudent" indignantly condemned in a letter as early as August 9, 1849:

*A mes yeux, D—— est le plus coupable de tous, d'après ce que j'ai vu de lui à la Nouvelle-Orléans. Cet homme est capable de tout faire pour de l'argent.*²³

²¹ "The chief reasons which cause us to depart are the excessive cold which affects the health of my wife. . . . and on the other hand the kind of slavery in which we are held is preventing us from mingling with the inhabitants of the country, who are democratic, mild, and affable."

²² "We have just bought three deer for two and a half sous a pound and one of our acquaintances in the town has bought recently two prairie chickens and a rabbit all for the sum of 75 centimes. Powder sells for 75 centimes a pound; we do not have any arms with which to hunt."

²³ Quoted in *Opinions et sentiments publiquement exprimés concernant la Fondateur d'Icarie*, 21-22. "In my eyes D—— is the most guilty of all after what I have seen of him at New Orleans. This man is capable of doing anything for money."

The problem is to find exactly how and by what steps the acquisitive spirit weakened the colony. The account of Icaria in the *Centennial History of Illinois* might be taken to show that the desire for economic efficiency grew and men became dissatisfied with Icaria because it was not productive or rich enough.²⁴ If the ambition for personal capital expressed itself, as in Roux's case, in simply exercising the right to withdraw, there would be no necessary effect on the stability of the colony, provided, of course, a faithful nucleus remained. From the time, however, of Cabet's absence in France, May 11, 1851, to July 21, 1852,²⁵ a movement was growing to transform the community into "a system of individualism of a particular form" and to stop Cabet's system of propaganda, recruiting, and "*puis partager*, etc."²⁶ The vagueness of these words of Cabet about the opposition shows why it is difficult to describe the movement against Cabet's rule within the colony. Our documents are largely books and periodicals written by Cabet and they yield little on the plans and motives of his critics. To Cabet, his critics were morally wicked traitors who duped and terrorized the majority, making "*passer les timides de l'ancienne majorité du côté d'une opposition remplie d'audace*."²⁷ After the violent scenes of February 3 and 4, 1856,²⁸ when Cabet called in the Nauvoo magistrate to

²⁴ Arthur C. Cole, *The Era of the Civil War 1848-1870* (*Cent. Hist. of Ill.*, III, Springfield, 1919), 18-19. Compare with the interesting thesis in V. F. Calverton, *Where Angels Dared to Tread* (Indianapolis, 1941) to the effect that most utopian experiments in America were economic successes but decayed because they lost vision and became static.

²⁵ *Colonse Icarienne*, Oct. 4, 1854.

²⁶ *Manifestations et adresses par les Icaris, 3.*

²⁷ Cabet, *Adresse du Fondateur d'Icarie aux Icaris* (Paris, avril, 1856), 9. "The timid pass from the old majority over to the side of a bold opposition."

²⁸ A bitter political struggle broke out in Dec., 1855 when Cabet tried to revise the constitution in order to give the president (himself) a four year term instead of one year. He tried unsuccessfully to exclude from the "Parliament" those who opposed this measure. Violent debates took place. Cabet was called "Napoleon," a

keep order, the opposition took over the printing press and the journal, which Cabet regarded as "*la suppression de ceux-ci pour étouffer sa voix et celle de la vérité.*"²⁹

From the foregoing, one conceives that a second possible cause of the fall of the Nauvoo utopia was the tactlessness and arrogance of Cabet, who considered himself indispensable in Icaria.³⁰ Do our letters throw light on this question? A reference to the "political and administrative incapacity of Citizen Cabet" appeared in Roux's letters. This cause merged with the economic environment in America as a cause. It is likely that hostility to Cabet was more a result of changing values in the minds of the Icarians than a direct cause of the fall of Icaria. The pressure of the prosperous West in the early 1850's, the opportunity to obtain land or employment, was too great a temptation to Roux and others who thought like he did. Perhaps the criticism of Cabet was not so much personal criticism, or even resentment against his

supreme insult to one who had been forced to flee from France in 1851 because of Louis Napoleon's suppression of socialists. Excluded from the communal dining room and their lodgings, Cabet and 75 men, 50 women, and 50 children left for St. Louis, Mo., where they arrived on Nov. 6, 1856. The next day Cabet died of apoplectic stroke. Gosselin, *Histoires*, 104-112.

²⁹ Cabet, *Adresse du Fondateur d'Icarie aux Icarieus*, 9.

³⁰ See his article, "Icarie surviva-t-elle?" *Colonie Icarienne*, Oct. 11, 1854. Here he stated that after his death the community would hold together because it was to its interest to do so, and its sacred duty to humanity. Another factor would be: "*D'estime et de confiance en moi et en mes écrits pour que le souvenir de mon dévouement, l'exemple de ma persévérance et leur dévouement. . . Et si je puis consacrer encore 3 à 4 ans à l'achèvement de l'édifice, j'en garantirai l'inébranlable solidité. Je la garantirai surtout si j'ai les \$500,000.*" An example of Cabet's faith in his own system and writings: the Alton *Vorwärts*, Sept. 22, 1854, called Icaria "a surprising and grandiose spectacle" of fraternity in a country where egoism reigned, stated that it was a product of "romantic dreams more than of reflection, and to justify our doubts," said the *Vorwärts*, "it is only necessary to look at one's own family." Cabet's answer begged the question: if the editor of the Alton paper had read our numerous writings containing all the developments of our Icarian system, his doubts would end.

There is an interesting judgment on Cabet's character in Edmund Wilson, *To the Finland Station* (New York, 1940), 107: "He was the most bourgeois of the communist leaders. He had no real imagination for the possibilities of either agriculture or industry. . . trimming the community down to the most cautious scale of small French economy." Wilson believes that Cabet had little of the spiritual superiority of a Robert Owen or John Humphrey Noyes.

dictatorship, as it was dislike of his attempt to enforce the utopian communal ideal upon men who were weakening in loyalty to it through the pressure the surrounding society exerted toward accepting "individualism" both in business and government.

Roux's letters have been connected with the American environment and Cabet's character as causes of Icaria's fall. A third possible cause is only implied in his letters: fundamentally the Icarians were individualistic. They entered the colony on the basis of an individual contract and were free to depart, their fee of 200 francs being refunded. The periodicals of the community record the extent to which the Icarians valued republican government and individual liberty, their respect for which they could not reconcile at the end with Cabet's proposed reform of the Icarian constitution. They were austere in personal morality, they frowned upon obscenity, domestic infidelity, and even prohibited smoking. To the officers of the *Marshall Ney* and the *American Eagle* they were "the most orderly, cleanly and industrious emigrants they have ever met."³¹ They promoted education, maintained a library, and enjoyed the theater and music. They had a sense of individual culture. They were also individualistic in religion. Each was free to believe as he chose, though the bias of Cabet directed the public religious services toward an extreme modernism, repudiating the supernatural and emphasizing the ethics of Jesus, with Jesus represented as a communist, or Icarian!³²

The religion they profess is very similar to that of the Unitarian,

³¹ *Quincy Whig*, March 20, 1849.

³² For evidence of Icarian interest in the Bible, to the extent even of its being studied by Icarian school children, see *Annual Reports of the American Bible Society* (New York, 1860), ii, 804.

and their manner of living much like the socialists; though, unlike many of the French and English socialists, they are scrupulously strict in the preservation of the virtue of their domestic circle.³³

The Icarians, unlike many of the other communist experiments in the United States, had no common religious base to hold them together.³⁴ Their individualist qualities made it easy for them to be swallowed up by the American culture instead of staying apart from it. John Reynolds' judgment on the Icarians, written before the colony broke up at Nauvoo, was that the main purpose of the Icarians was to destroy individual selfishness:

This is requiring of human nature more than we can accomplish, and more perhaps than is just and proper. It is individual interest that propels man to act in the present organization of society.³⁵

Why did Pierre Roux end his letter of November 10, 1850, with the postscript, "Do not show the letter to anyone." Probably this reveals that he had a guilty conscience about reverting to capitalism, or rather, about preferring liberty to equality.

³³ *Quincy Whig*, March 20, 1849.

³⁴ Confirmation of the ability of religiously based utopian experiments to endure somewhat longer than purely secular communities may be found in Ernest Sutherland Bates, *American Faith* (New York, 1940).

³⁵ *My Own Times* (1855 ed.), 588.

HISTORICAL NOTES

MORE NOTES ON ROCK RIVER NAVIGATION

MOLINE, ILLINOIS
January 15, 1941

*Secretary, Illinois State Historical Society
Springfield, Illinois*

DEAR SIR:

Since the publication of my recent article "Notes on Rock River Navigation" in the September, 1940 issue of the *Journal*, I have, in connection with flood surveys now being carried on by this office, had occasion to examine a number of county histories and old newspaper files. In such sources I located several accounts of navigation on the Rock River and its tributaries that were not contained in my article. As such historical data may be of interest to some, I am forwarding the accounts and the sources from which the material was secured.

The following excerpts are from an article that appeared in the February 25, 1905 issue of the *Sterling Standard*:

S. Lehman Smith of Sterling, Illinois under date of Dec. 21, 1895, said that he came to Whiteside County in 1845 and in connection with George Weber built a flouring mill at Como in said county; that he operated this mill for several years; that while operating this mill he engaged two steamboats to come to Como and take cargoes of flour to the Mississippi river, and that both boats came to Como and returned to the Mississippi with cargoes; that in consequence of the destruction of books and papers relating to the business of this mill by fire, he is unable to fix the exact dates when these steamers came to Como. . . .

S. M. Seely of Sterling, Ill., under date of Dec. 21, 1895, said that he came to Portland in the said county [Whiteside] and state June 4, 1836; that during the year 1836 two steamboats made trips up Rock river from the Mississippi to above Portland; that in the year 1851 the side wheel steamer *Lighter* made several trips up Rock river and that he received freight shipped on said steamer and made

shipments on her; that between the years 1836 and 1851 steamboats made trips up Rock river as far as Sterling nearly every season and sometimes passed above the rapids at Sterling; that in 1865 the steamer *Sterling* was built at Sterling and engaged in carrying coal and other freight between Cleveland and Sterling, afterward engaging on the Mississippi river in rafting. . . .

In 1867 the Rock River Navigation and Water Power Company was chartered by the state of Illinois for constructing a canal at Milan and for creating water power. This company built a dam which gave slack water over the rapids and, through another company, to which it assigned certain rights, constructed a lock and short section of canal reaching from the pool above the dam to the open river below the rapids. This canal, called Sears' Canal, was in operation a number of years and a large quantity of coal was transported through it to the Mississippi river. . . . [Note: Remains of canal may still be seen at Milan.]

William C. Collins of Moline, Ill., under date of Dec. 30, 1895 said that he is the owner and master of a small steamboat called the *Myrtle* and a small barge; that on June 1, 1891, he came from the Mississippi river with said steamer and barge and ran them practically during the whole of the summer of 1891 and 1892 between Black Hawk's watch tower and Colona, returning to the Mississippi river in the fall of 1892; that he lost a large amount of trade during June and July, 1892, by not being able to get past the Moline bridge, even with the smoke stacks down, the distance from the bottom of the bridge to the water surface being only about three feet when the water was the highest. That in 1893 and 1894 with said steamer and barge he ran at least twenty-five trips to Davenport, Ia., and other points on the Mississippi river to Blackhawk's watch tower. Also that from August 10 to August 12 inclusive, 1895, he ran the steamer *Beder* with passengers, from the Mississippi river to Colona and return. That on July 4, 1895, with the steamer *Myrtle* and barge and 25 passengers he went up Rock river to a point above Green river, returning to Milan the same evening. That on July 26, 1895, he ran a similar excursion from Rock Island with 27 passengers, and that these last three trips made it necessary for him to take down smoke stacks six times in order to pass under the Moline bridge, the bottom of the bridge being about eleven feet above the low water surface. Also that it has been and is his intention to transport coal from the mines on the Rock river to points on the Mississippi river with a large steamer and barges as soon as the said obstruction is removed. . . .

T. G. Isherwood of Davenport, Ia., under date of Dec. 23, 1895, said that during the years 1875 and 1876 he was captain of the steamer *Edith*, engaged in towing barges of coal from Park's and Hillier's mine on the south shore of Rock river to the Mississippi

river and delivering said barges of coal at Davenport, Ia., and Rock Island, Ill., and to steamboats engaged in the Mississippi river traffic; that daily trips were made and that from 250 to 300 tons were carried at each trip; that the season of navigation was from the opening of the river in the spring to about August; that the steamer *Edith* engaged in this business in all five or six years; and that entrance was had into the pool above the Milan rapids through the Sears Lock and canal, so called. . . .

Benjamin Goble of Milan, Ill., under date of Dec. 26, 1895 said that. . . he lived on north bluff of Rock river about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles above the present Moline bridge from 1835 to 1852; that soon after moving to the latter place [near Moline], his brother-in-law, John Vandruff, now deceased, ran a Rock river packet from points on the Mississippi river, outside of the state of Illinois, to Sterling and other points on Rock river, for one or two seasons, and that said steamboat was then taken down the Mississippi river and placed in the Ohio river trade.

Mention by others is also made of steamboat navigation to Beloit, Rockford, Portland, and Sterling, and of Mississippi river steamboats taking on flour cargoes at the upper Milan mill.

Other notes also recently came to my attention relative to navigation on two Rock River tributaries, the Pecatonica, and Green River. In the *Freeport Weekly Journal* of August 19, 1858 the following announcement appeared:

On Thursday, August 12, 1858 the new steamer *Wm. S. Russell* arrived at Freeport. The boat is fifty feet long, twenty-four feet wide, and two five tenths depth of hold. It draws fourteen inches of water when light and with thirty tons burden will draw about thirty inches. It is driven by two twelve horse power engines. As soon as the Fisher dam between Freeport and Winslow can be fixed so as to allow free navigation the steamer will make regular trips to Winslow. If it were not for sundry dams which (contrary to law?) obstruct navigation this boat could make regular trips between Freeport and Darlington.

At present the steamer will make daily trips (commencing in about 2 weeks) between Freeport and New Pennsylvania.

Several excursion parties have already been taken out on the steamer.

The *Geneseo Republic* of May 29, 1868 had an item on Green River navigation:

The first steamboat that ever cut its waters and skimmed its surface on Green River was made last week on a trial trip. The boat was named *Uncle Mose*.

The trip extended several miles up and down the Green River and the boat is expected to make regular trips during the season.

The boat was built by Sweney Duesler, Clark and Co. The engine by Luty and the boilers by a Davenport establishment.

The June 26, 1868 issue of the same paper commented:

The little steamer *Uncle Mose* is doing a big coasting business on Green River consisting principally in carrying passengers.

On July 24, 1868 the *Republic* reported:

Last week the steamer *Uncle Mose* with captain and crew made a trip up Green River into Bureau County. She sailed about 40 miles and would have gone more but for the fact that the grass in the stream forbade further progress.

The *Geneseo Republic* of May 15, 1868 commented:

The steamer which was to ply on Green River this season was expected to be started from her hitching post this week and set out on her first trip; but as she can't go anywhere without getting out of sight of land and as her officers object to going where terra firma can't be looked on it is probable she won't set out for a few days. Harry Fanes has extended an invitation to the captain of the boat to visit his fishery but as Harry's farm is out of sight of land the invitation will probably be declined.

The following editorial excerpt is from the July 20, 1844 issue of *The Upper Mississippian*, quoted in Chapman Bros., pub., *Portrait and Biographical Album of Rock Island County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1885), 746.

The steamer *Lighter*, Capt. Hight, has just returned to this place from a voyage up the Rock River, during which he ascended to Madison, the Territorial seat of government, a distance of near three hundred miles! This is the first voyage made by steam, as we have been informed, to so great a distance. . . . [If this is a true account the steamer ascended the Yahara and passed through the Four Lakes. The year 1844 was a high water year so it may have been possible.]

An issue of the *Rock Island Banner*, February 4, 1840, gave an account of a navigation meeting held at a school house, at which Joseph Knox, J. Wilson Drury, George Mixter, R. McGrew, J. S. Miller, J. B. Wells, William Frizzell, P. Gregg, and William P. Crapper were appointed a committee to petition Congress for the improvement of the navigation of the Rock River.

The early settlers believed that the Rock River was navigable. Mention is also made of Captain King's piloting a small steamboat with much difficulty to the present site of Sterling, Illinois in the year 1841. See *Portrait and Biographical Album of Rock Island County*, 746.

The *Belvidere Standard* of June 4, 1890 stated:

The steamer *Primrose* will make regular three mile trips from her pier at the bridge at Belvidere, Illinois. The speed of the boat is 8 miles per hour. [In 1892 the *Primrose* was transferred from the Kishwaukee, tributary of the Rock River, to the Rock River.]

The *Belvidere Daily Republican* of July 3, 1902 contained a picture of the *Steamer Belle*, which was to transport passengers on the Kishwaukee on July 4, 1902.

As the statements by old settlers in the *Sterling Standard* were made many years after they actually witnessed the river traffic it is very possible that there may be erroneous statements, especially as to dates. The data has not been checked by the writer in any way so it should be approached with a "critical eye."

Very truly yours,

GUSTAV E. LARSON.

MARY TODD LINCOLN SUMMERS IN WISCONSIN

Wisconsin is made glad when she recalls that her history contributes, fragmentarily, to the biographical materials of Mary Todd Lincoln. In some of Mrs. Lincoln's biographies there appear stretches of years when the merest statement must suffice to cover the activity of this intriguing figure in nineteenth century history. These frustrate years lead to wistful imaginings, which in turn serve unscrupulous writers for facts.

Biographer William A. Evans, in his introduction to *Mrs. Abraham Lincoln*, makes this statement: "The paucity of any record or source material for the years 1872 to 1874, inclusive, is remarkable." Katharine Helm traces Mrs. Lincoln's life rather minutely up to the death of Tad, in the summer of 1871; then almost immediately she takes the reader to the year 1875, and quickly closes the volume with the subject's illness and death.

To the barest, factual items recorded by the editors of Waukesha, Madison, Milwaukee, and Chicago newspapers must go the credit for preserving an instance when Mrs. Lincoln was once more "in search of health." These bits, when pieced together, fill in a two-month period for 1872, a year when Wisconsin makes her small contribution to a lamented dearth of Lincoln records.

That Mary Todd Lincoln would have summered in a southern Wisconsin spa in 1872 is not strange, since Waukesha's reputation as "The Saratoga of the West" was spreading, its first medicinal spring having been discovered in the summer of 1868. In frail health, physically and mentally, she was familiar with health resorts, and doubtless reports of the miraculous cures effected by Bethesda water had reached her in neighboring Chicago. So she arrived the first week of July and found living quarters in a little farmhouse near Bethesda spring, the spring which initiated the glamorous, thirty-five year spa-era of Waukesha.¹ Here she hoped to find relief for a dropsical condition; and, to take the cure as conveniently and as inconspicuously as possible, it is understandable why she chose a house in close proximity to Bethesda Park. Although it is reported that she visited the spring almost daily,² the fact is emphasized that she was living in complete retirement—one reporter stating that she lived the life of a recluse—and in her occasional public appearances was closely veiled.³

The late W. H. Orvis, once a Waukesha resident, but for many years a staff member of the state legislative reference library at Madison, recalled the house where Mrs. Lincoln lived while taking the water cure, in the "60's or 70's." ⁴

What a correspondent saw and heard while observing and visiting invalids in Bethesda Park, among whom was Mrs. Lincoln, entertained the readers of the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus). He wrote that the cure was of great benefit to her and that she was seldom seen abroad. He also stated: "Poor Mrs. Lincoln carries a heavy heart, and she is much of the time in tears." ⁵

The social recordings during this summer did not list her name.

¹ Waukesha *Freeman*, Aug. 22, 1872.

² *Ibid.*, July 31, 1872.

³ *Ibid.*, Aug. 22, 1872.

⁴ *Ibid.*, May 10, 1934.

⁵ Waukesha *Plasdealer*, Sept. 10, 1872, excerpt from *Ohio State Journal* story, written at Waukesha, Aug. 22, 1872.

The fact that she was broken in body and not entirely responsible, prevented her from entertaining, or being entertained, to any extent. And why should she not have a deep-seated antipathy for a public whose stings and hatreds crucified her into melancholia? That she was a southerner, brought her the hatred of the North; that she had married a northerner, brought her the hatred of the South. Torn between loyalty to a husband whose destiny lay in Emancipation, and loyalty to a brother and three half-brothers⁶ whose sacrifices were for the glory of the Confederacy, Mrs. Lincoln's behavior was so complex as to make judgment of her a grave undertaking. Illness, sorrow, worry, and eccentricity formed a tight bulwark, and social life became for her quite superfluous.⁷

The *Freeman* editor disapproved of newspapermen whose "very bad taste" impinged upon Mrs. Lincoln's quiet way of life, but into his statement one reads professional jealousy. Two newsmen had obtained some fascinating bits on her relations to spiritualism, which the *Freeman* editor had failed to gather and impart to his readers.⁸ A letter from a special correspondent to the *Semi-Weekly Wisconsin*, published at Milwaukee, signed "F. A. M.," brings the longest account relating to Mrs. Lincoln at this time. Possibly he was the culprit who showed "bad taste" though the editor of the *Waukesha Plaindealer* probably was alluded to, since there were missiles, no end, flying between the local editors.

Writing from Waukesha, July 24, "F. A. M." revealed the fact that Mrs. Lincoln had been at Waukesha three weeks "and is regarded chief among the visitors." He continued:

She visits the springs almost daily, and it [*sic*] is getting gratifying relief from a dropsical affection. She is disinclined to receive

⁶ C. C. Ritze, "In Defense of Mrs. Lincoln," *Jour. of the Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, Vol. 30, no. 1 (April, 1937), 59.

⁷ A feature story on the famous Fountain Spring House at Waukesha in the *Milwaukee Journal*, March 9, 1930, reported that Mrs. Lincoln was a dinner guest "one day" at this noted hostelry. It is an easy matter to embellish the facts, from vague hearsay or recollection, in order to produce a readable feature story, especially on a subject far removed in time. The present writer, unable to verify this statement, is not ready to accept it. In 1872 Mrs. Lincoln could not have been a guest, as the Fountain Spring House was not opened to the public until the summer of 1874. A perusal of the *Waukesha* newspapers did not disclose her villaging at Waukesha a second summer, though she may have come and gone without the fact appearing in the newspapers. Biographer Evans reported that she sojourned there in 1874, an item all three local newspapers failed to record that year.

⁸ *Waukesha Freeman*, Aug. 15, 1872.

visitors at her boarding place, and is reticent toward those who obtrude upon her. Mrs. Lincoln has recently visited the great mediums east, and was deeply interested in what she saw. She visited Mumler in Boston *incog*, and obtained a shadowy, but striking likeness of Mr. Lincoln on the same plate with herself. She spent five days at Moravia, and saw twenty-two different spirit faces—among the rest, that of her son "Tad." She speaks of Moravia as one of the most fascinating places she ever visited, and she hopes to make it a second visit.⁹

Two weeks after "F. A. M." had published his news account, the harassing competitor of the *Freeman* seems to have garnered additional material on Mrs. Lincoln and her spiritualistic leanings, which he shared with his readers:

Mrs. Lincoln, relict of the "late lamented," who is spending a few weeks in this village, recently visited Milwaukee to have an interview with a spiritual medium there, which is reported to have been very satisfactory. During the last few weeks she has been holding spiritualistic communion through the most celebrated mediums of the east, and has now opened communication through the operator at Milwaukee. The particulars of this spiritual interview are not made public.¹⁰

The two excerpts cited should bolster the faith of those who question Mrs. Lincoln's association with spiritualism. The Milwaukee correspondent, on the alert for contemporary news items, would hardly have fabricated this story about so distinguished a visitor, when it could have been verified easily. Neither would the editor of the *Plaindealer* have printed a "personal" paragraph which might reflect on the veracity of his newspaper. Since his facts differ definitely from "F. A. M.'s" it can be assumed that he interviewed either Mrs. Lincoln or someone who represented her.

The *Freeman* editor, "woe unto his good taste," failed to record Mrs. Lincoln's eventual departure from his city, though in his September 5 issue he included an item taken from the *Toledo Blade*

⁹ This news letter appeared in the *Semi-Weekly Wisconsin*, July 31, 1872. Her "recent" visit was probably made during the preceding year as Tad died in midsummer, 1871. Her poignant grief doubtless motivated her visit to Moravia. How devoted she was to spiritualism is somewhat uncertain, but Virginia Kinnaird says that Mrs. Lincoln began to attend seances after the death of her son Willie in the winter of 1862, and that she derived some comfort from them. It would be reasonable to expect her to visit mediums after Tad's death also. See Miss Kinnaird's article on Mrs. Lincoln in *Papers in Illinois History*, 1938 (Springfield, 1939), 85.

¹⁰ Waukesha *Plaindealer*, Aug. 13, 1872.

(undated) which stated that "Mrs. Lincoln has left, probably because the army of itinerant interviewers would give her no rest." The Milwaukee *Sentinel* on August 26 brought the news that late in August Mrs. Lincoln was seen at Madison, and the *Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison), two days earlier, noted her arrival from Baraboo at the Park Hotel on that day. A safe assumption is that she was touring the picturesque region of Devil's Lake and Madison. Since "she appears to have wandered most of the time" after 1871 and until 1875, one may safely conclude that her wanderings brought her to these much-publicized resort areas.

On September 3 the *Plaindealer* editor wrote that she had left during the preceding week on an extended tour through the West. Madison is directly west of Waukesha, but he presumably was writing of the Far West. Her health, he further commented, was better than it had been for several years, and she expected "to return again before winter." If she returned to Waukesha that fall, the three local newspapermen failed to inform their readers. Perhaps she came quietly, as was reported of her summer's arrival, but it does not seem likely that each of three editors would have failed to observe her.

And again the frustrate years confront one; but wistful imaginings—not fact—can conjure up for Mary Todd Lincoln a pleasant, far western journey, with lighter heart, to compensate for the dreary weeks when she was "much of the time in tears."

LILLIAN KRUEGER.

MADISON, WIS.

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

SUMMER PHENOMENA HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED

HIGH SCHOOL EXAMINATIONS

Examinations were continued at the High School yesterday, according to the programme as published. Among the visitors during the day we noticed Col. J. H. Matheny, Rev. A. J. Kane, Rev. Perry Bennett, besides gentlemen and ladies who were present the day previous. The examinations were highly satisfactory, and some classes are deserving of especial notice.

The class in Cicero, under Mr. Brooks, was subjected to a most thorough examination by Rev. Mr. Everest and Superintendent Bennett and acquitted themselves in a most creditable manner.

The Algebra class of Mr. Brooks, by their promptness and accuracy drew forth much commendation.

Mrs. Baird surrendered her class in arithmetic to the visitors with the request that they ask any question that might belong to the study. The visitors took possession as requested but the class were too much for them and at the end of an hour and a half the examiners gave it up that they were prepared for attack at all points.

Recitations were given by some of Mrs. Baird's pupils after examinations were over, the scholars doing themselves great credit, but we would mention especially Miss String and Masters Lord and Johnson.

Miss Tuttle's class in Caesar and Miss Jones' in Physical Geography are deserving of commendation. Classes in Chemistry and Greek grammar under Mr. Chamberlin's care, were examined. Also Mrs. Baird's class in natural history and English grammar, and Miss Tuttle's in Caesar and Virgil, of which we cannot give an extended account, but all of which appeared to have been industriously at work during the past term. Several classes under Miss Jones also passed the ordeal of a thorough examination and showed most conclusively that they had been thorough students.

The examinations are now closed, and it affords us pleasure to

say that there is but one opinion in relation to the matter, and that is, that the examinations have been eminently creditable to both teachers and scholars.

Commencement exercises will be held at the Opera House this evening at a quarter before eight o'clock.

Illinois State Journal, June 26, 1873.

COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT

On Tuesday, the 28th of June, the Commencement exercises of the Illinois College were held in the beautiful grove adjoining the College buildings. The weather was propitious—the arrangements for accomodating the audience, good; and we ourselves, were disposed to be pleased, which was best of all. Ten young gentlemen were graduated, and received their degrees. In the absence of Pres't. Beecher, Prof. Sturtevant presided and conferred the degrees.

We were in the first place pleased that an audience, amounting to from 1,000 to 1,500 persons should be so much interested, as to remain upon the ground, in all during the day about seven hours. Nor could we perceive any difference between this congregation of spectators in Illinois, and similar ones which we used to see in New England.

We were gratified to see among them so many public men from the State, including quite a number of the clergy.

The young gentlemen concerned in the exercises, deserve credit for the performances; compared with similar exhibitions at Amherst, or Dartmouth, or Harvard, or Yale, we think it would be pronounced fully equal to them. No such throng of spectators, nor as many speeches to be sure; but the style of thinking, the modes of expression, the delivery, were fully equal. In the matter of delivery, as we remember the habits of eastern Colleges, we should say they fall below those of Western Institutions in energy and *meaningness*. The speaking was relieved by accompaniments of instrumental and vocal music. The pieces were well chosen; and we have certainly heard worse music at Park Street in Boston, than this, made under the forest shade of Illinois.

Upon the whole we have been more than pleased by the appearance of things connected with this College—our expectations much exceeded.

The Illinois Statesman (Jacksonville),
July 3, 1843.

THE GLORIOUS FOURTH

The Fourth was quite a still day in our city. The Military companies were out on parade, and the Rifle company made an encampment for a couple of days, a short distance from town. Many of the citizens sought pleasure in the country—some were out on a fishing spree—others shouldered their guns, and sought the stillness of the "dark, umbrageous woods." For one, our fancy led us to the banks of the big lake in the bottom, where the pike, bass and sunfish "most do congregate,"—and where, after no small sport with rod and line, we had the pleasure of partaking of a most superb fish dinner, got up in the best style of two gentlemen cooks, who have established their name and taste on more than one occasion of the kind. There were nineteen gentlemen partook of this repast—representing most branches of the trades and professions of the city. One of the legal fraternity read the immortal "Declaration," and the whole crowd appeared to be actuated with the *patriotic* intention of celebrating the Fourth in the most hilarious manner.

Quincy Whig, July 9, 1845.

BASEBALL

The Baseball Match on Saturday Last—The Hardins of Jacksonville Score Eighty Against the Capitals of Springfield Thirty-Nine—Crowds of Spectators Present. The excitement and interest which has prevailed in the base ball circles of this city during the past month, seemed to have reached its height on Saturday last, on the occasion of the match game between the Hardin club of Jacksonville and the Capital club of this city, growing out of a challenge extended by the former and accepted by the latter about a week since. . . .

On the morning set for the contest, the sun rose into a clear sky, giving promise of fair weather. The thermometer ranged quite low and very little wind was astir—everything in fact promising a propitious occasion for the game. About 10 o'clock A. M., the Hardins reached the city from Jacksonville by the T. W. & W. Railroad, and were met by the Capitals at the depot, and at once conducted out to their grounds at the terminus of the Capital Horse Railway. During the forenoon both clubs were invited over to the residence of Hon. Jesse K. Dubois near by, and entertained up to about noon, when they returned to the Avenue House, and partook of a sumptuous din-

ner catered for the occasion by Mr. Ed. Luce. Among the invited guests who also were at the table, were Mayor Bradford and several of the state officers, and other distinguished gentlemen.

At precisely two, the clubs took their positions in the field, and commenced to play, the best spirit prevailing.

In tossing up for positions, the Hardins won the choice and selected the field. The first inning was played with much spirit in about twenty minutes, the Capitals scoring five and the Hardins two. The second innings were played with greater care, and with much more skill exhibited on both sides, the Capitals making a score of nine against seventeen by the Hardins. In this inning, Whitlock and Palmer both made home runs, and the superior batting of the Hardins became at once apparent. With the third inning, the interest in the game partially subsided, the most sanguine friends of the Capitals despairing of their success. In this inning, the Hardins scored twenty-six, and "white washed" their opponents. The remaining six innings were played about even, though the Capitals were unable to overcome the odds already obtained by the Hardins.

The game closed with an aggregate score for the Hardins of 80 against 39 for the Capitals. To every one it was apparent that their superior use of the bat won for the Hardins their victory, while the fielding of the Capitals was quite equal in every respect to that of their contestants. In the seventh inning Dawson made a daring catch on the fly of a ball immediately from the bat of Edgar, and the closing "out" of the game was a grand catch on the fly by Williams—the ball thus held being one of the strongest struck during the match. . . .

The number of spectators upon the ground could not have been less than one thousand, the entire inclosure within which the contest was played being surrounded with persons in vehicles or on foot. The large number of ladies present tended greatly to enliven the scene, and we doubt not stimulated the players in their exertions for the mastery. At the close of the game, about half after six o'clock, the Hardins took supper at the Avenue House, and left the city for home by the first train. That the match will be repeated at a future day we have no hesitancy in stating, and when such transpires the result may be more creditable to the Capitals, who only lack the practice and discipline of their opponents.

Illinois State Register, July 2, 1866.

MOONLIGHT EXCURSION

A pleasant excursion left on the *DeSmet* last evening for Grafton. The infrequency of the like occurrence caused several of our leading citizens to gather at the levee, to witness the departure. Notwithstanding the temerity of those essayed to attend without the full sanction of parting benediction of said citizens, it was an enjoyable affair. There was nothing of grandeur or originality about it, but still it is pleasant for those who deem it worth a slight expenditure of time and money to forget for a while the prosaic routine of the work-a-day world, by sailing under the full-orbed splendor of a summer moon, or varying the sail by music and dancing. At twelve o'clock a well prepared luncheon was spread in the steward's room, to which all were invited, and shortly after (the excursionists having ascertained that they could not do otherwise) concluded that they

"Wouldn't go home 'till morning."

So they "on'd with the dance," and when "bright-eyed-dawn" discovered toilets that were intended only for moonlight and lamp-light, the ladies bore, with smiling equanimity, the decree of unpropitious fate (or freight), and all joined in a merry go-round, which lasted till we got to Alton again.

Alton Weekly Telegraph, Aug. 6, 1874.

SUMMER RESORT

PERRY SPRINGS HOTEL
PERRY SPRINGS, ILL.
July 31, 1879

The month of July is fast passing away, going to the unreturning past, and still we linger among the charms of this delightful spot, enjoying our rest from the cares of life, enjoying deeply our separation from the perplexing, annoying matters of business and the pursuit of money. Here we are sitting under the shady trees, taking our ease, enjoying life, as if there was no such thing as the trouble and worry attending our fight in the battle of life, our scramble for a livelihood in this world of ours. . . .

The Springs is a good place to go to for all who desire to add to their stock of good health. It is easy of access to the citizens of

your vicinity, by the Wabash railway, which has taken a position as the king of railroads in this country, and proudly wears and retains that title. . . .

The ladies' "hat question" appears to be the prevailing topic among the softer sex here, and many hours are consumed in the discussion of what form this crowning glory of lovely women should be. We opine that next season's feminine hat will be run through a threshing machine, passed over a buzz saw, buried under a flower garden, combine the tints of a full-fledged rainbow, and be named the "Last Hope." If that does not bring the tyrant man to fall down upon his marrow-bones, then he will, indeed be past redemption. . . .

Man appears here not as he is but as he wishes to be thought he is. Many a man who scolds his wife because things are not arranged just to suit him at home, will be as placid as a custard pie, as mild as boarding house coffee, at a fashionable summer resort, where he may not enjoy half the comforts he could at home. . . .

Among our other enticing entertainments, croquet enjoys a high rank, and fair damsels and stern masculines drive the balls with all the energy the weather will allow. It may seem a trifling thing to you, but he who has never been beaten at croquet knows nothing of the sterner trials of life. After being beaten at this game we feel mean enough to shake hands with a dog.

We have here a choice company of refined, kindly ladies, who render everything as delightful as possible. Good manners and good feelings are the rule and not the exception, and he who cannot enjoy the passing hours as they fly in this "rose-bud garden of girls," must be of different material from the gentlemen here. . . .

We enjoy ourselves very much in chasing the flying hours in our pursuit of pleasure and of a good time generally. Mr. Watson's kindly family add very materially to our comfort and our enjoyment. We have charades and dancing in the spacious parlors every night, to which place we all repair after supper, and young ladies and gentlemen prolong their evening's sport until silence falls with the waning moon, and the ladies who desire bright, radiant eyes in morning—and they all do—consider it time to bid the attendant cavaliers a kind good-night. . . .

Perry Springs is indeed a delightful summer resort. To-day is one of the loveliest of the season. We look around at the beautiful pano-

rama of sloping hills and verdant vales, bathed in the soft morning sunlight, white clouds sailing over them swiftly and noiselessly as phantom ships, grey rocky hills, mossy slopes, sighing oaks, the soft blue of the summer sky, the changing green of hill and meadow, the fleecy white of the undulating summer clouds, the mild air, soft and sweet as the essence of a thousand flowers, bringing health and healing on its wings. If your kindly readers were here they would unite with me in pronouncing this a delightfully pleasant spot. We have met many gentlemen here who will be remembered with the most sincere pleasure long after we have parted and each again takes up his part in the great drama of life. . . .

Illinois State Register, Aug. 2, 1879.

THIS TOO IS HISTORY



Adv. in Chicago Tribune, July 16, 1920

NEWS AND COMMENT

The annual dinner, a luncheon, boat ride, tour of Black Hawk State Park, and a number of interesting speeches were features of the forty-second annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society which was held at Rock Island on May 1, 2 and 3. All sessions were well attended, with 160 guests at the dinner on the evening of May 2.

The first meeting was called to order on May 1 at 8:00 p. m. at Augustana College by O. L. Nordstrom, president of the Augustana Historical Society, and a lecture was delivered by Mrs. Helen Stone, Moline, on "Artists of Rock Island County." On the morning of May 2 the annual business meeting of the Society was held. This was followed by the Directors' meeting. At 1:00 p. m. members of the Society were guests at a complimentary luncheon at Augustana College. John H. Hauberg, formerly vice-president and newly elected president of the Illinois State Historical Society, presided, and Dr. Conrad Bergendoff, president of Augustana College, spoke on the history and background of the college. Immediately after the luncheon, guests assembled on the campus for the dedication of a boulder marking the Indian boundary designated in the Treaty of 1816 with the Potawatomi.

Between the hours of 3:00 and 6:00 members of the Society were guests of John H. Hauberg on a boat trip to Campbell's Island. Numerous places of historical interest were pointed out en route. On the evening of May 2 the annual dinner was held at the Fort Armstrong Hotel, with Clint Clay Tilton, retiring president of the Illinois State Historical Society, introducing the newly elected president, John H. Hauberg. O. E. Aleshire, president of the Rock Island Centennial Association, extended greetings, the Augustana Choir under the direction of Henry Veld entertained with several selections, and T. V. Smith, professor of philosophy at the University of Chicago and former congressman, delivered the principal address, "American Democracy in Historical Perspective." On the following morning members met at the Black Hawk State Park Museum to inspect the Indian collection of Mr. and Mrs. John H. Hauberg. Other parts of the park were also visited.

The new officers elected at the business session of the Society were: John H. Hauberg, Rock Island, president; Jewell F. Stevens, Chicago, senior vice-president; Ernest E. East, Peoria, vice-president; Theodore C. Pease, Urbana, vice-president; George W. Smith, Carbondale, vice-president; Wayne C. Townley, Bloomington, vice-president; Paul M. Angle, Springfield, secretary-treasurer.

The following new directors were named: O. F. Ander, Rock Island; Irving Dilliard, Collinsville; and Hermon Dunlap Smith, Lake Forest. The following directors were re-elected: Ernest E. East, Jewell F. Stevens, and Wayne C. Townley. It was announced by Paul M. Angle, secretary-treasurer, that for the first time in the history of the organization the Society now has over a thousand members.



On April 29, 1941, the *Rock Island Argus* commemorated the centennial of the city by publishing a Centennial Edition containing three special sections in addition to the regular edition for the day. The first of the special sections was devoted to the present city of Rock Island, and constitutes a valuable pictorial and descriptive record of one of the state's major cities. The second and third sections were given over to a comprehensive, integrated history of Rock Island and its neighborhood. Under a dozen subtitles every phase of the past received detailed treatment—the Indians who first inhabited the lovely site at the junction of the Rock and Mississippi rivers, the early white settlement of the region, the development of transportation and industry, the growth of schools, churches, the press and sports.

Printed on good paper and well illustrated, the Centennial Edition of the *Rock Island Argus* is a substantial and enduring contribution to the history of Illinois.



An index to the complete files of the *Chicago Tribune* is now being compiled by employees of the *Tribune*. Every story published in the paper since its beginning in 1847 will be included in this project. Probably fifteen to twenty years will be required to complete the undertaking.

Perhaps there has been no bigger gap in the historical literature of Illinois than that which should have been filled long ago by a biography of John McAuley Palmer. The empty space, moreover, has seemed all the larger because Palmer was a national figure. But better late than never, and so we welcome *A Conscientious Turncoat: The Story of John M. Palmer, 1817-1900*¹ by Dr. George Thomas Palmer, of Springfield, Palmer's grandson.

The title, of course, derives from Palmer's insistence upon doing his own thinking instead of allowing political parties to do it for him. A Democrat originally, he became an Anti-Nebraska man when his party split over Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Two years later he joined the Republicans, and it was as a representative of that party that he was elected Governor of Illinois in 1868. In 1872, however, he pitched his tent in the Greeley camp, and before long he was back in the Democracy, which sent him to the United States Senate in 1891. But although he had reached the time of life when men's opinions usually crystallize, he refused to accept free silver; so in 1896, at the age of seventy-nine, he permitted himself to be named as the presidential candidate of the Gold Democrats against Bryan and McKinley.

Dr. Palmer's life of his grandfather is largely built upon Palmer's own letters, which give the book a sort of contemporaneous quality not always achieved by biographers. Those letters are especially numerous and especially interesting for the Civil War. Palmer was a good letter-writer—acidulous in his judgments, outspoken in his expression of them. Many a man well known in Illinois history is revealed in this correspondence in somewhat shabbier garb than the full dress clothing in which he stands before the world—all of which lends piquancy as well as fidelity to an important biography.

A Conscientious Turncoat is an Illinois book in every respect. Written by an Illinoisan about an Illinoisan, it has an Introduction by Lloyd Lewis, a trustee of the Illinois State Historical Library; and, through the generosity of its author, the Palmer papers upon which it is based are now in the Library's possession.

The Yale University Press, publishers of *A Conscientious Turncoat*, are also announcing *America in Arms*, by John McAuley Palmer, grandson and namesake of John M. Palmer. Not often are two brothers represented on the same publisher's list at the same time.

¹ Yale University Press, \$3.00.

Zachary Taylor, soldier of four wars and twelfth President of the United States, died ninety-one years ago. Yet in all that time only one full-length biography has been written, and that, of little consequence when published, was long ago outmoded. *Zachary Taylor, Soldier of the Republic*, by Holman Hamilton,² is, therefore, a major contribution to American historical writing. It is also a notable addition to the history of Illinois, for Taylor's activities in our own state were many and important. He took part in an unsuccessful campaign against the Indians in Illinois in 1812, fought the Battle of Credit Island (near Rock Island) in 1814, erected Fort Johnson where Warsaw now stands, and took a leading part in the Black Hawk War. Moreover, he commanded Illinois troops who fought with distinction in the Mexican War. Recognizing the importance of Taylor's Illinois associations, the publishers have made provision for a special Illinois Edition of *Zachary Taylor: Soldier of the Republic*, limited to 250 copies and autographed by the author.

This book carries the story of Taylor's life to the end of the Mexican War, and is to be followed by a second volume covering his presidency. Its author, who has mastered the difficult art of combining scholarship and readability, is editorial writer on the *Fort Wayne Journal Gazette*. For the March, 1941, *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* he contributed "Zachary Taylor in Illinois."



When Tom Tallmadge died in a train wreck on New Year's Day a year ago—the sole casualty of the accident—he left an unfinished history of Chicago's architecture. Fortunately, that part of the manuscript which he had completed was very nearly in final form, and thus a group of his friends were able to add the finishing touches, select the many illustrations which the subject called for, and see to its publication under the title, *Architecture in Old Chicago*.³

Tom Tallmadge—no one who knew him ever used his full name—was an excellent architect, a thoroughly informed student of the history of architecture, and a writer of distinction, as his *Story of Architecture in America* and *Story of England's Architecture* have demonstrated to many readers. *Architecture in Old Chicago*, skillfully, interest-

² Bobbs-Merrill, \$3.50.

³ University of Chicago Press, \$3.00.

ingly written from full knowledge, shows his talents at their best. Beginning with Fort Dearborn, the book carries the narrative of Chicago's building to 1893, when it was cut off by the author's death. It is much more, however, than a mere record of houses and churches and office buildings. The record is there, of course, but interwoven with it is the story of the men who built the city and lived in it. Let even the reader who thinks he has no interest in architecture read the first few pages, and the chances are that he will not stop until the end. A pleasant experience and a substantial increment of knowledge will be his reward.



For several years the Illinois Writers' Project has been sending short stories of historical interest to the newspapers of the state. Subjects of all kinds were covered—curiosities, bits of humor, items of out-of-the-way information. Now many of these stories have been collected and published in a mimeographed book of ninety-three pages with the title, *Illinois Historical Anecdotes*.⁴ The collection is an interesting one, but its usefulness to the historian is largely destroyed by the complete lack of authenticating references.



Of Lincoln books there is no end. Witness the product of the last few weeks:

The Great Debate between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas in 1858, Reproduced in Condensed Form in 1940.⁵ This little book had an unusual origin. In November, 1940, the Lincoln Group of Boston reproduced the Lincoln-Douglas debates in condensed form. Following the original pattern, a speaker representing Douglas opened the argument; another, representing Lincoln, replied; then the first speaker made a short rejoinder. So successful was the re-enactment that the Group decided to publish the condensed text. Readers familiar with the debates will welcome this skillful condensation; others will find it an acceptable substitute for the full text. F. Lauriston Bullard has contributed a succinct historical introduction.

⁴ Illinois Writers' Project, 433 E. Erie St., Chicago.

⁵ The Lincoln Group of Boston, 405 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass., \$1.00.

Lincoln's Kalamazoo Address Against Extending Slavery, Also his Life by Joseph J. Lewis, edited by Thomas I. Starr.⁶ Abraham Lincoln was one of several speakers at a Republican rally at Kalamazoo, Michigan, on August 27, 1856. His speech was reported at the time in the *Detroit Daily Advertiser*, but it remained unknown until 1934, when it was reprinted as a newspaper feature article. Now, for the first time, it is published in book form. With it is reprinted—also for the first time in book form—the 2,500 word biographical account which was published in the *Chester County Times* (West Chester, Pa.) on February 11, 1860. Based on Lincoln's first-person autobiography, this account furnished the material for several of the 1860 campaign biographies, and is thus the cornerstone of Lincoln autobiography.

Lincoln Takes Command, by John Shipley Tilley.⁷ An elaborate, carefully documented brief for the South, covering the period from the secession of South Carolina to the fall of Fort Sumter.

The Eugenics of Abraham Lincoln, by James Caswell Coggins.⁸ Revival of old gossip to the effect that Abraham Lincoln was the illegitimate son of Abraham Enloe and Nancy Hanks, herself the illegitimate daughter of Lucy Hanks and Michael Tanner. Unconvincing, to characterize it with restraint, but if anyone wants an antidote, he will find it in William E. Barton, *The Paternity of Abraham Lincoln*, or more briefly, in J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, "The Many-Sired Lincoln," *American Mercury*, June, 1925.

Not a book, but deserving mention in any list of recent Lincolniana is a photographic reproduction of a charcoal portrait of Lincoln by Raymond Georg, Springfield artist and photographer. The portrait follows the famous photograph of Lincoln which Alexander Gardner took just four days before the delivery of the Gettysburg Address, and which has been described as "the best photographic portrait made on glass prior to 1865." The photographic reproduction, made under conditions which insure permanence, preserves the fine qualities of the drawing itself.⁹

⁶ Fine Book Circle, Birmingham, Mich., \$2.75.

⁷ University of North Carolina Press, \$3.50.

⁸ The Goodwill Press, Elizabethton, Tenn.

⁹ Available from the artist, 418 E. Edwards St., Springfield, Ill., \$7.50.

From 1861 until 1865, Camp Morton, at Indianapolis, conformed to a pattern familiar throughout the North. The Indiana state fair grounds, it was transformed into a recruiting camp at the outbreak of the war. Later, with the capture of Fort Henry and Fort Donelson early in 1862, it became a Confederate prison camp, and the detention of prisoners continued to be its principal function until the war ended.

The story of the camp is told in *Camp Morton, 1861-1865: Indianapolis Prison Camp*, by Hattie Lou Winslow and Joseph R. H. Moore.¹⁰ And well told, too. The authors handle their subject in full detail and document it carefully, but the narrative never bogs down in minutiae nor loses sprightliness through scholarship. The monograph, which grew out of a paper presented before the Indiana Historical Society, might well be taken for a model by anyone interested in the effective presentation of original research.

Conditions at Camp Morton, as at similar prison camps in Illinois—Butler (Springfield), Douglas (Chicago) and Rock Island—were often bad. In the fall of 1863, for example, a medical inspector called Morton “a disgrace to the name of military prison,” and filed a detailed report which more than justified the characterization. But Camp Morton also proved that military prisons, both North and South, needed not to be as bad as they usually were. Those who doubt this statement should visit the State House in Indianapolis, where they will find a beautiful bronze bust with this inscription on its pedestal: “Colonel Richard Owen, Commandant, Camp Morton Prison, 1862: Tribute by Confederate prisoners of war and their friends for his courtesy and kindness.” We suspect, sadly, that this memorial is unique.



The State of Illinois, with a history reaching back into the seventeenth century and encompassing voyageurs and missionaries, Indians and frontiersmen, statesmen and soldiers, industrialists, merchants, educators and poets, furnishes a superb background for the whole story of our national life. Nowhere can the American themes of individual freedom and social progress be better illustrated.

¹⁰ Indiana Historical Society. Obtainable from Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, 75 cents.

Realizing this, the Colonial Dames of America encouraged two of their Illinois members—Frances L. Blatchford and Lila W. Erminger—to tell the story of the state for young people. *Illinois Grows Up*¹¹ is the result. And *Illinois Grows Up* is just about perfect. The text is simple, interesting and comprehensive, treating of the industrial and social development of the state as well as of its great personalities and spectacular events. The illustrations, all in color, are excellent. And the publishers have co-operated with authors and illustrator by producing a book which will certainly rank among the best examples of American bookmaking for the current year.



The last one of a series of lectures sponsored by the Augustana Historical Society in connection with the Rock Island Centennial celebration was held in Rock Island on April 2. County Judge Charles G. Davis, Cambridge, Illinois, spoke on the Reverend John Brich, pioneer Presbyterian minister.



A "Boone County 75-Year Club" has been organized under the sponsorship of the Boone County Historical Society. Any person who has lived in Boone County for seventy-five years or longer is eligible to membership. At the meeting of the Society on March 10, Mrs. John Herbert gave an account of the history of the Herbert family, pioneer settlers of Bonus. At the April meeting Mrs. John Oberholser presented a biographical sketch of Eli Bogardus, another well-known early settler of Boone County.

The Boone County Historical Society has voted to establish a building fund. When a building is eventually acquired it will be used for storing and displaying material and as a meeting place for the Society.



Charles B. Pike, president of the Chicago Historical Society since 1927, died in Billings Hospital on April 26. Mr. Pike was born in Chicago sixty-nine years ago. He practiced law for some years

¹¹ A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, \$2.00.

and later was engaged in the banking business. He was president of the Military Training Camps Association from 1922 to 1938 and chief civilian aide to four United States secretaries of war during that time. Joseph M. Cudahy succeeds Mr. Pike as president of the Chicago Historical Society.



When the South Shore Historical Society (Chicago) met in February, F. A. Watson gave a talk on his trip through India and Miss Joan Sawyer entertained with several vocal selections. Mrs. Jay M. Sawyer, program chairman, presided at the meeting.



"The Drama of Lincoln's Assassination" was the title of the address Otto Eisenschiml gave before members of the Woodlawn Historical Society (Chicago) at their meeting on February 14. Dr. H. L. Van Tuyl presided and Mrs. E. J. Chladek introduced the speaker. Music was furnished by the Sylvan trio, including Ella Lee Johnson, Marguerite Proseath, and Maxine Greenwood, accompanied by Chloe Wright. Mrs. William Rothman and Mrs. W. J. Evans presided at the tea tables.



The annual community assembly of the Ravenswood-Lake View Historical Association (Chicago) was held on April 17. A pageant written and directed by Sophie Chandler, second vice-president, was presented. Community singing led by James McCurrach, first vice-president, selections by Argante Ciabattari, accordionist, and a program by the Color Guard of the Trowel Post of the American Legion were also a part of the evening's entertainment. T. T. Sullivan, president, was in charge of the meeting.



The Des Plaines Historical Society has arranged for the Des Plaines Public Library to circulate books owned by the Society. Publications of the Illinois State Historical Society and copies of the *Congressional Record* are among the volumes which have been placed in circulation.

Every three months the Des Plaines Historical Society issues *The Des Plaines Historical Quarterly*. Each issue contains local historical material of interest and value. In the fall, 1940, number, for example, are to be found the conclusion of the diary of A. H. Conant, one of the first settlers of Des Plaines, and an account of camp meetings at Des Plaines. The issue for January-February-March, 1941, is devoted to a history of the local post office. The editor's comments are informative and discerning.

The Des Plaines Historical Quarterly is mimeographed, and does not represent a heavy expenditure on the part of the Society. Nevertheless, it serves as a good medium for the dissemination of local history and as a means of maintaining interest on the part of the members. Other local historical societies would do well to issue similar publications.



An article entitled "Horse and Buggy Days in Edwards County," which was written by John W. Emmerson, was read by Mrs. Grace Terry at the February meeting of the Edwards County Historical Society. At an open forum at the close of the program many interesting stories and reminiscences were heard.



At the February meeting of the Glencoe Historical Society Mrs. John A. Grant, president, read a paper incorporating reminiscences of the late George Tapper. At the same meeting Albert O. Olson traced the history of Hogarth Lane, a highway north of Beach Road. Tea was served by Mrs. C. A. Saxby and members of her committee.



The one hundred and sixteenth anniversary of the founding of Jacksonville was observed by members of the Morgan County Historical Society at their dinner meeting on April 24. Mrs. Samuel Darley spoke on "The Evolution of Home Life on the Farm." An extensive exhibit of articles which were used in early farm homes was on display at the meeting. W. F. Coolidge, director of the Farm Bureau, made arrangements for the exhibit.

"The Foreign Policy of Abraham Lincoln" was the subject of the speech which Mrs. Frances H. Ferrell made to members of the Oak Park Historical Society on February 20. This Society, which meets in February, June, and October, now has 150 members.



The Peoria County Historical Society heard three speeches at its February meeting. They included: "The Development of the Ice Business in Peoria," by Thomas Detweiller; "The Scientific School of the Old Peoria Scientific Association," by Virginius Chase; and "Fishing and Hunting in Old Peoria," by George E. Johnson. At the March meeting of the Society the following program was given: "Peoria Business Houses of the 70's," Miss Myrtis Evans; "High Schools of Peoria," Howard Hunter; and "Jubilee College as I Knew It," Mrs. S. J. Tucker.

The April meeting of the Society was held in Elmwood with a large number of Peorians in attendance. E. E. Downing presented a paper on "The Elmwood Schools;" "The Elmwood Paper Mill" was described by Mrs. Florence Westbay; and "The Early History of Elmwood" was discussed by W. E. Phelps. Music was furnished by the high school quartet.



Creation of a Swedish historical museum in Rockford during the next decade and the publication of a history of the Swedes in Rockford are two of the goals set by the Swedish Historical Society at its annual meeting in Rockford on March 2. The following officers were elected: Dr. E. C. Bloomquist, president; Dr. Albert Loreen, vice-president; Herman G. Nelson, secretary-treasurer. Thorsten Thorstenson is chairman of the Society's radio committee, which presents semi-weekly radio programs in the Swedish language over Station WROK.

The principal address at the March meeting was made by Dr. Fritiof Ander, professor of history at Augustana College. He spoke on the recent history of Sweden.



The annual meeting and election of officers of the Rock Island County Historical Society was held in Moline on February 26. Dr.

Conrad J. Bergendoff spoke on "Higher Education in Rock Island County" and John H. Shantz discussed "Cultural Beginnings in Rock Island County."

John H. Hauberg was re-elected president. Other officers include: Miss Alice Williams, first vice-president; Mrs. Marvin H. Lyons, secretary; Fred Myers, treasurer; W. A. Stephenson, assistant treasurer; John H. Hauberg, curator; Miss Helen Marshall, archivist; O. L. Nordstrom, Richard Crabb, H. W. Getz, and George B. Coe, directors.



The Southern Illinois Historical Society now has permanent headquarters. A combination archives-seminar room has been fitted up in the Main Building on the campus of Southern Illinois Normal University. Manuscripts, letters, journals, relics, etc., are made available here to persons interested in the history of 'Egypt.' Anyone who has family papers or other articles of historical interest to add to the Society's collection is urged to send his contribution to Richard L. Beyer, president of the Southern Illinois Historical Society, Carbondale.

The Society held its first dinner meeting of the year in Marion on April 24. "The History of Coal Stripping in Egypt" was the subject of a paper read by Fred W. Rickart, Cartersville, and "In and Around the Log Houses of Egypt" was the title of an address by John W. Allen, Carbondale. Models of cabins and historical dioramas prepared by the history-museum project of Southern Illinois Normal University were displayed in connection with Mr. Allen's talk.

All officers of the Society were re-elected at this meeting. They include: Richard L. Beyer, Carbondale, president; Thomas L. Layman, Benton, first vice-president; Ira O. Karraker, Jonesboro, second vice-president; E. G. Lentz, Carbondale, secretary; and N. W. Draper, Carbondale, treasurer.



J. B. Whitehead, president of the newly formed Winnebago County Historical Society, has announced the personnel of various committees. The following are committee chairmen: John H. Page,

finance; Miss Jane P. Hubbell, general historical and museum; Charles E. Herrick, publicity; Floyd J. Able, nominating; Mrs. Edward C. Hinchliff, miscellaneous matters. The Society announces that everyone who joins this year will be a charter member of the organization. A membership chairman has been assigned to each township in the county.



Dr. John R. Ball, professor of geology at Northwestern University, lectured on "The Geological Story of the North Shore" at the March meeting of the Winnetka Historical Society. Members of other North Shore historical societies were guests of the Winnetka group on this occasion.

CONTRIBUTORS

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CAMP LINCOLN

COMPILED BY MEMBERS OF THE WRITERS' PROJECT OF THE WORKS PROJECT
ADMINISTRATION IN THE STATE OF ILLINOIS*

I. EARLY HISTORY

FOR thirty-six years the site of National Guard encampments, for eighteen years the training ground of the 106th Cavalry, Camp Lincoln, located near Springfield, Illinois, has seen the United States enter two wars, but has taken an active part in neither. Paradoxically, its most lively days fell during peacetime: in the early 1890's, before the Spanish-American War, when a favorite diversion of Springfield families was the Sunday outing to the camp to watch the dress parades; in the five years before the first World War, when military spirit ran high and National Guard membership rose to record-breaking numbers.

There are two reasons why Camp Lincoln faded into the background upon declaration of war in 1898 and again in 1917. The camp site, stretching a half mile north and south, and one-fourth of a mile east and west, was too small for a large concentration of troops. Lack of direct rail communication was a second serious handicap. While the same factors today operate against

* The Illinois Writers' Project, W. P. A., thanks Paul M. Angle, librarian in the Illinois State Historical Library, Clarence R. Clendenin, vice-president of the *Illinois State Register*, and John M. Tipton, colonel in the Quartermaster's Corps, retired, for their valuable assistance in the gathering of material for the history of Camp Lincoln. Clarence A. Fricke, Genevieve Rockwood and Sylvia Leibovit, of the Illinois Writers' Project, are largely responsible for the writing and editing of this article.

its use as a major training center, the camp has its role in the nation's vast defense program.

The natural features of the rectangular tract on the northwest edge of the city of Springfield have been used to advantage in the plan of Camp Lincoln. The land is divided exactly in half by a sheer drop of forty feet, at the base of which Spring Creek runs eastward across the grounds. The northern half, on the lower level and a quarter of a mile square, is used as a rifle range, with butts on the north line. Back of the butts, to the north, a long hill running east and west forms a natural backstop. As added protection, a man-made concrete barrier twenty feet high surmounts the hill.

A level, grassy drill ground, stretching a quarter of a mile east and west and an eighth of a mile north and south, lies at the southernmost end of the field. The section between this ground and Spring Creek is forested with large white oak trees, and serves as the tenting area. In the center of the grove are grouped eight one-story frame barracks, a mess hall and headquarters; a stone hospital building is in the extreme northwest corner. A new armory is being built this year to the south of the barracks.

The tract of land at Springfield became the permanent site of summer encampments of the Illinois National Guard in 1886. Before that year, troops had been forced to use temporary sites, known as "wheel camps," expensive to set up and inadequate in equipment. They were further unsatisfactory because temporary areas large enough for the entire militia could not be found and troops were compelled to train in sections. In 1885, Governor Richard J. Oglesby decided that it was time to find a remedy. He appointed a five-man military board,

which during that fall and the next spring inspected land at Highland Park, Waukegan, Wilmington, Oregon, Kankakee, Ottawa, Quincy and Springfield and also Grand Trunk railroad property.¹ Once the chosen site was named, citizens of Springfield contributed \$3,100 to the purchase price of \$18,100, the remaining \$15,000 being paid by the state.

Additional help was given the new camp by the Springfield City Council through an ordinance passed April 7, 1886, providing that city water mains be extended to and on the camp grounds at no expense to the state and that water be supplied free of charge. Accordingly, one and a half miles of water pipes were laid before the first encampment that year. The ordinance has never been revoked or violated, even though it has entailed considerable expense to the city of Springfield.

In the spring of 1886, the state authorized expenditure of \$8,030.55 to build a quartermaster's house, an icehouse, and stables for 100 horses, and otherwise to prepare and improve the grounds. Perhaps the most spectacular improvement was the swimming pool, 90 feet wide and 160 feet long.

A franchise was granted on July 15, 1886, to Henry Schuck and Frank Reisch to extend the Springfield Street Railway to the camp boundaries. Three days later, the *Illinois State Register* [Springfield] reported that more than a mile of track had been laid and that street cars were in operation. Military men and civilians alike marveled at this show of speed.

With the camp in order, Adjutant General J. W. Vance, by order of Governor Oglesby, commander in

¹ Members of the board were Adj. Gen. Joseph W. Vance, Brig. Gen. Charles Fitz Simons, Brig. Gen. Jasper N. Reece and Col. James A. Schaffer.

chief, issued on July 6, 1886, General Order Number 14: "The permanent camp and rifle range established for the Illinois National Guard, near Springfield, is hereby designated and will be known as 'Camp Lincoln.' "

Shortly afterwards, each of the two brigades of the Guard made initial encampments of one week, July 17 to 24 and August 2 to 9, respectively. Annual summer encampments continued, sometimes by regiment, sometimes by brigade, interrupted now and then by events that shook the routine of state or nation. In 1890 the legislature curtailed the appropriation for the militia, and summer training had to be abandoned. Three years later, when all roads led to Chicago and the Columbian Exposition, the Illinois National Guard established a camp there. In 1894, labor trouble led the state to call out troops for active duty during the time allotted for their encampment. In 1898, year of the Spanish-American War, the National Guard was sent to Cuba. Camp Lincoln, it has been noted, was too small for wartime maneuvers, so the state fair grounds, dignified by the name of Camp Tanner, became the mobilization point.

Regular encampments were resumed in 1899, again alternating between regiments and brigades. Only the second and third brigades participated during 1902. All regiments came to camp in the following years, except in 1906 when the 2nd Regiment was sent to the Army encampment at Fort Benjamin Harrison in Indiana. In 1907 a battalion of the United States Army command was stationed at Camp Lincoln to give added instruction to the Illinois National Guard. There was no encampment in 1910, but the next year saw three regiments in the field.

The years preceding the United States' entry into the World War were summed up in the report of Adjutant General Frank S. Dickson:

The aggregate strength of the Illinois National Guard June 30, 1916, just prior to being called into the active service of the United States was 10,312. This was at a time when the military spirit of the whole country was running high and when the old National Guard had reached its highest mark in State service under peace time conditions. For the three preceding years the aggregate strength of the Illinois National Guard, was: 1913, 5,931; 1914, 6,335; 1915, 6,846.²

All existing units of the Guard were called to service by the federal government during 1917 and 1918, mobilization in Illinois again taking place at the state fair grounds. For use within the State of Illinois, the 9th, 10th, and 11th Infantry Regiments were organized, given extensive training at Camp Lincoln, and held there for the major part of the war period. They were sent to active duty at various points in the state as the need arose.

The Illinois National Guard was placed under federal regulation by the Army Reorganization Act of 1919 and designated the 33rd Division, 6th Corps Area. In 1921 regiments of the Guard again drilled at the old site on the edge of Springfield; it was their first regular encampment after the first World War, and their last at Camp Lincoln.

Modern forms of warfare called for massing of large detachments, but Camp Lincoln could accommodate only one brigade at a time. Extended drills and maneuvers on the small campgrounds were out of the question, and much of the activity was transferred to Camp Grant. (An opportunity to enlarge the area of Camp

² *Report of the [Illinois] Adjutant General, 1920-1922* (Springfield, 1924), 6.

Lincoln and to give it direct rail transportation had been passed by in the 1890's. Zimri Enos offered land to the state immediately to the west of the camp as a site for a National Guard school patterned after West Point, but nothing ever came of it.)

Camp Lincoln was not, however, entirely abandoned in 1922, for from that year on it has been used as headquarters and target range for Troop F, 106th Cavalry and Company C, 130th Infantry, both Springfield companies. A Civilian Conservation Corps camp under the direction of the 6th Corps Area, United States Army, was established there in 1934, many of its members being drawn from Springfield and nearby towns. Two years later the federal government made the first of a series of appropriations that have awakened new activity at Camp Lincoln, and brought it into readiness for whatever part it can play in the defense of the nation.

II. FROM DAY TO DAY

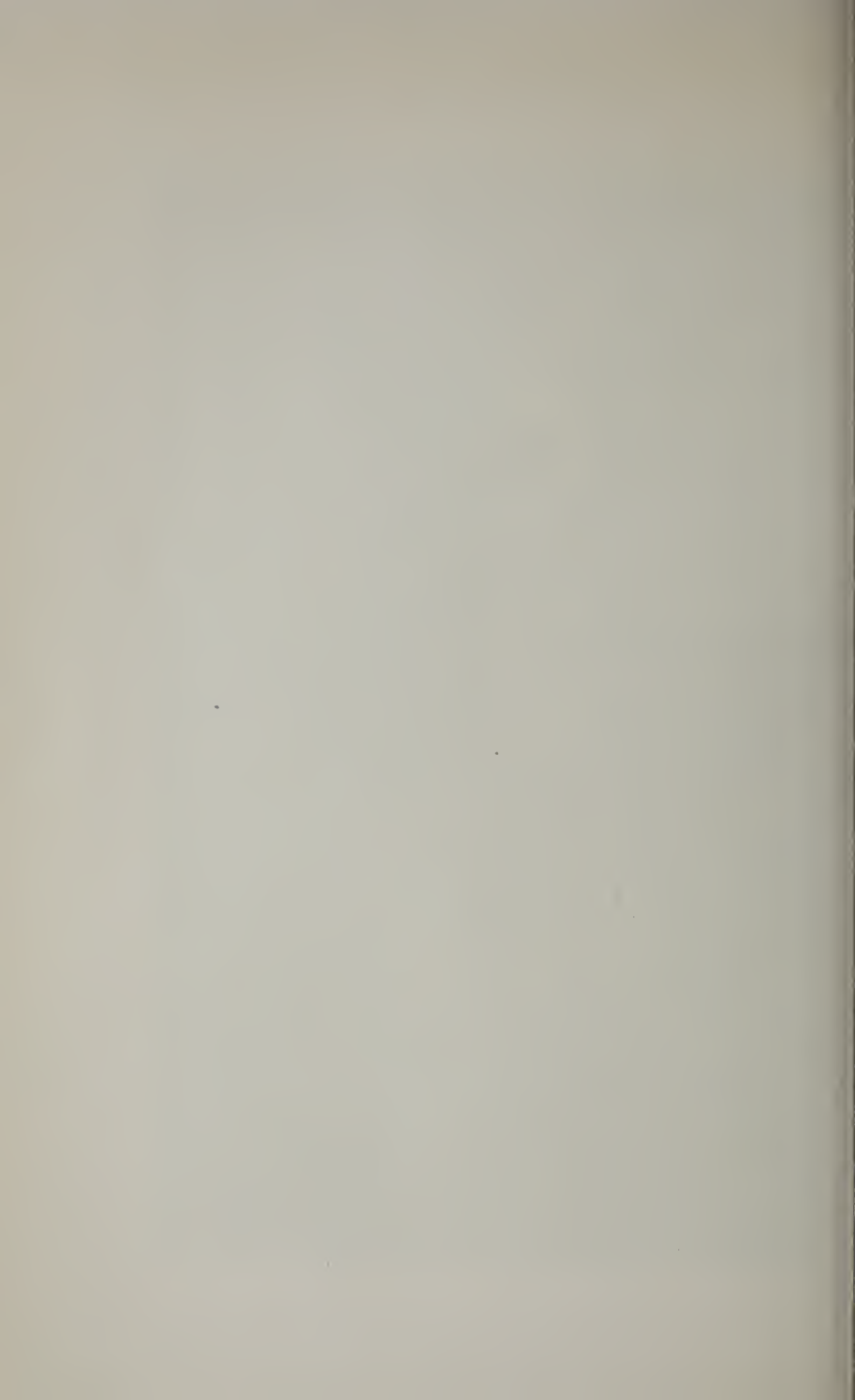
Such is the broad outline of the history of Camp Lincoln, but a recitation of encampments by years tells only the barest story. To members of the guard dropping the pattern of their everyday lives eight days each summer, Camp Lincoln was a different world—a military world, with rigid schedule and army discipline.

Reveille was sounded at 5:20 A. M. followed by a program much like this one of 1895:

Fatigue Call.....	5:45
Mess call (breakfast).....	6:00
Sick call.....	7:00
Assignment of guard details.....	7:15
Adjutant's call.....	7:30



BATTERY D, EDGAR P. TOBEY, CAPTAIN, AT CAMP LINCOLN, JULY, 1886



Drill call.....	8:30
Recall.....	10:00
School call.....	11:00
First Sergeant's call.....	12:15
Mess call.....	12:30
Mess call (supper).....	6:00
Regimental Parade	
First Call.....	6:50
Assembly.....	7:00
Adjutant's call.....	7:15
Retreat (when no parade).....	Sunset
Tattoo.....	10:00
Taps.....	10:30

Encampments ordinarily began and ended on Saturday, payday falling on Friday. In 1897 the men received \$1.00 a day, but later the rate was increased to \$2.00 and finally to \$3.00. Guardsmen in the early days provided most of their own uniforms and part of their equipment, sometimes with startling results on the drill field. The 1st Regiment, of Chicago, probably the wealthiest, came to Camp Lincoln in 1888 with elaborate uniforms of grey trimmed with gold and black, cutaway coats, white helmets with brass eagle and chin strap, and white epaulets and belts. White horsehair plumes and gold epaulets added to the splendor of the officers. The 3rd Regiment went to another extreme when it appeared at camp in 1892 with bright red jerseys and knapsacks. Not to be outdone, citizens of Belleville in 1895 presented their company with suits of white duck cloth.

It was also the custom in those early years for each regiment to adopt an emblem, widespread choice of a farm implement as a subject reflecting the agricultural background of most of the men. A nickel-plated plow was displayed in the company street and carefully

guarded by members of the 2nd Regiment who feared that practical jokers among their fellow campers might attempt to steal it. The 5th Regiment marked its section of the camp with a farm wagon of ornate design.

Dressed in fancy uniform or in utilitarian simplicity, with pretentious emblem or without, guardsmen lost no time in getting down to serious business. Companies drilled on arrival at Camp Lincoln, regardless of the hour. When the 7th Regiment arrived after nightfall in 1895, for instance, troops were drilled in the dark before being allowed to turn in. Of necessity, tactical maneuvers were somewhat limited during regimental encampments, but brigades were able to fight large sham battles. One such engagement in 1896 began with an attack on the camp by half a brigade from a point five miles north on the Sangamon River. The day was won by the Camp Lincoln defenders with the same military tactics which were later successfully used in actual warfare.

Sunday was a day of glory for victor and vanquished alike, for this was the day of the dress parade. Troops must have reveled in the admiration shown by citizens of Springfield and the crowds that came on special train excursions from all parts of the state. "It is expected that fully a thousand Chicagoans will visit the camp today. Several hundred came down late last night" noted the *Illinois State Journal* [Springfield] on July 14, 1895.

There were other compensations for their mornings of hard work, the guardsmen found. This "simple little lunch" served by Company I of the 1st Regiment in 1888 was a challenge to any healthy soldier's appetite:³

³ *Illinois State Journal*, July 13.

<i>Soup</i>		
Green Turtle		
<i>Boiled</i>		
Leg of Mutton, Caper Sauce		Chicken, Cream Sauce
<i>Roast</i>		
Spring Lamb, Mint Sauce		English Loin of Beef
<i>Entrees</i>		
Cutlet of Lobster, Spanish Sauce	Croquettes of Rice, Wine Sauce	
Orange Fritters, Vanilla Flavor		
<i>Salad</i>		
Shrimp		
<i>Relishes</i>		
Bunker Hill Pickles	Celery	Chow Chow
Lettuce	Queen Olives	Cucumbers
<i>Vegetables</i>		
New Potatoes	Stewed Potatoes	Green Corn
New Peas	Beets	Asparagus
<i>Pastry</i>		
Cocoanut Pudding, Wine Sauce		Apple Pie
Peach Meringue, Lemon Flavor		Jelly Tarts
Strawberry Short Cake		
<i>Dessert</i>		
Crackers	English Breakfast Tea	Coffee Edam Cheese
<i>Fruit</i>		
Apples	Malaga Grapes	Oranges
Bananas	Layer Raisins	Figs
<i>Assorted Nuts</i>		

Drinks, too, were elaborate. The *Illinois State Journal* had this to say about them on July 11, 1889:

It is asserted that the refreshment dispenser of the Second Regiment is an adept in concocting cooling currents for the throats of the thirsty militia and their friends. One of his specialties is the "Adjutant." It is ginger ale, claret and ice. The "Inspector of Rifle Practice" is a good one for a warm day. It hits the mark and produces no internal fire. The Quartermaster's "calm" is popular, because two are enough to insure somnolence through an entire sermon. The "Chief of Police" is a "fetching" drink. It gathers in all the boys. The Chief of the Chicago force sent two cases of champagne and one of claret to the boys and his clever remembrance is honored with his name. The water that is furnished to the militia

is entirely satisfactory and it is used liberally by the privates for drinking and bathing.

III. PROBLEMS AND DISCIPLINE

Unfortunately, the liquor problem could not always be treated so lightly. Saloonkeepers set up business near the camp and complicated matters for National Guard officers whose attempts to curb drinking by appealing to the better nature of their men were not entirely successful. Of little better effect were stringent orders penalizing soldiers found in saloons and threatening them with a stay in the guardhouse, loss of pay, and—for habitual offenders—dishonorable discharge. A more tolerant attitude was taken in 1889 by Colonel H. A. Wheeler, when he was informed of the misconduct of several drunken soldiers. One newspaper stated:

Colonel Wheeler was embarrassed and regretted very much that such a thing should have happened. He presumed the whole regiment would be blamed for the errors of a few; but said it would be a miracle if a man had a family of 800 children and every one of them perfect.⁴

In 1896 differences between the National Guard and the saloonkeepers came to a head. During the summer training period, Colonel George M. Moulton raided and closed a saloon that had been established on the south side of the camp. The case was taken to trial in the civil courts, but it dragged to such lengths that Colonel Moulton eventually had to drop the charges because of personal expense. Why this raid and later ones could have no far-reaching effect is explained in a comment on the Moulton incident made by Brigadier

⁴ *Illinois State Journal*, July 13.

General Andrew Welch reporting to Adjutant General Charles C. Hilton:

While the Military Code authorizes a Commanding Officer to prohibit the sale of liquor within one mile of any encampment, and to enforce such prohibition by force if necessary, this authority is nullified if the business is established one day before the commencement of an encampment.⁵

Officers later asked Springfield civil authorities to aid in eliminating fly-by-night drinking places, and the ensuing campaign met with some success.

A new approach was tried in 1906 when Illinois National Guard members were allowed to follow the example of their Texas colleagues and buy beer from camp canteens. The *Illinois State Journal* was pleased to note on July 22 that "there have been no drunken soldiers in camp and the streets of Springfield are not crowded with soldiers rushing to the saloons, such as was usually the case when liquors were not allowed in camp." Probably this was an exaggerated claim, for there is evidence that the problem was one with which authorities had to deal until the last of the encampments in 1921.

The ugliest blots on the record of Camp Lincoln came, however, from a different source. Negro-white relationships in the Illinois National Guard began auspiciously and with a certain amount of honor when in 1879 Theodore C. Hubbard enlisted in the Guard as orderly to Edgar P. Tobey, captain of Battery D. Hubbard, who had joined the Union Army in 1861, claimed the distinction of being the first slave to fight with the northern forces. He was the only Negro soldier at the

⁵ *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois, 1895 and 1896* (Springfield, 1897), 106.

camp until the formation of the all-Negro 9th Battalion in 1893.

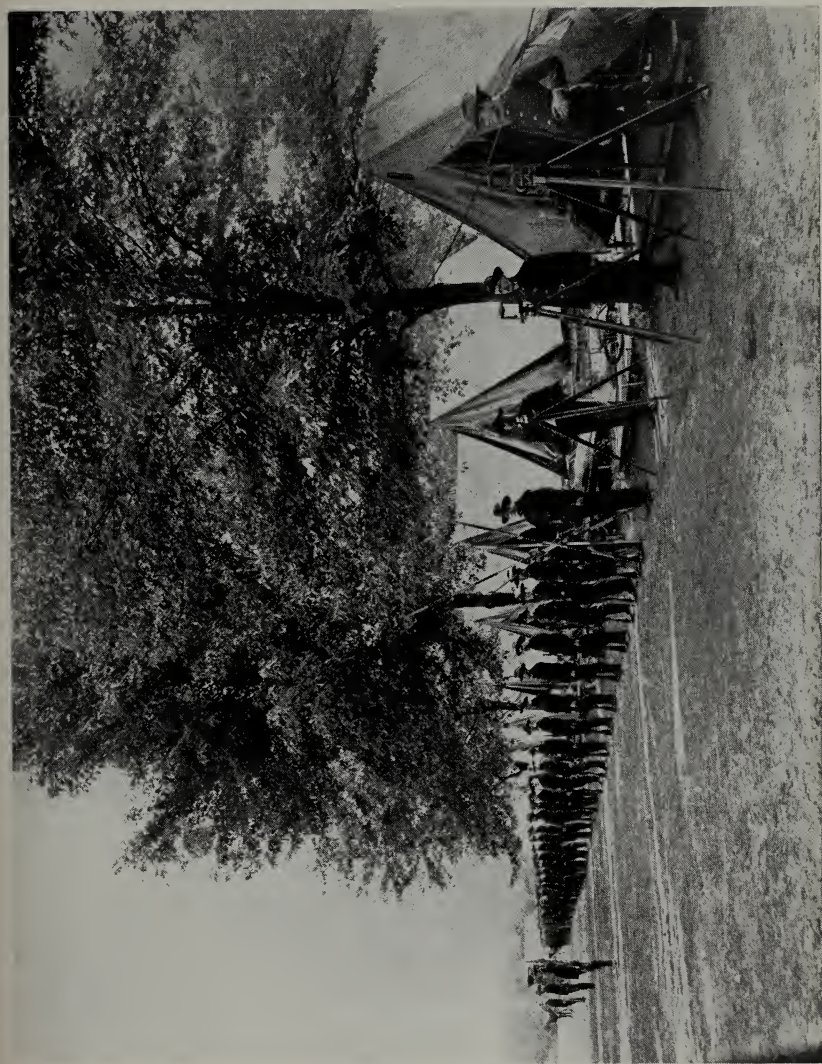
Nevertheless, minor incidents from time to time had indicated that all was not harmony, and in 1892 a tragedy was narrowly averted when Camp Lincoln soldiers took punishment into their own hands. "Two colored boys who persisted in carrying off rations from the mess tent of one of the companies were seized and tossed up in blankets for a short time, but the performance was stopped by an officer."⁶ This treatment resulted that night in the rough handling of two soldiers at the merry-go-round in downtown Springfield. Returning to camp, the soldiers solicited aid of their comrades to clean out the Negroes. About seventy men started to town but fortunately were dispersed by the police. Two of the soldiers were fined by the civil authorities and the regiment was restricted to the camp.

A less happy ending was reserved for Major John C. Buckner, commanding officer of the all-Negro 9th Battalion of Chicago. At the close of a successful encampment in 1897, this battalion, following orders, marched to the station and boarded the coaches of the Chicago and Alton Railroad standing ready for them. Major Buckner, feeling "that the condition of the cars was an insult to his race,"⁷ ordered his men to leave the train and called upon the Adjutant General's office for other accommodations. Assistant Adjutant General James B. Smith inspected the cars and after they had been swept and the water tanks filled, the matter was brought to a close, noted the *Illinois State Journal*.⁸

⁶ *Illinois State Journal*, August 5.

⁷ *Ibid.*, July 18.

⁸ *Ibid.*



ENGINEER COMPANY, HEADQUARTERS AT SPRINGFIELD, 1902



But an entry in the same newspaper two days later quoted a report of Assistant Adjutant General Smith which indicated that the affair was not disposed of so simply:

"Major Buckner called me up and demanded to know what the adjutant general's office intended to do about the transportation of his battalion to Chicago. He said he would not go over the Chicago & Alton in, what he termed, the 'cattle cars' they had provided. . . . In company with Mr. Wildman and the train-master of Bloomington, and Majors Buckner and Boyer, I went through the train and made an inspection. Each water tank was found to contain cold water and when I had examined every car I announced that there would be no change in Major Buckner's orders. . . .

"Major Buckner's reply to this was that he would not go over that road; that he would lay there all day before he would do it and that if it cost him \$2,000 he would spend it before he would go over the road. . . .

"Major Buckner then called his quartermaster and instructed him to make arrangements for the transportation of his battalion to Chicago over another road. I then returned to Camp Lincoln and the proper orders were written up for the removal of Major Buckner in case he failed to obey the previous orders, and the appointment in his stead of Captain John R. Marshall to take command of the battalion. The orders were so made that in the event of the refusal of this officer to obey the orders, he too would be removed and the next man appointed and so on down the list.

. . . "I decided to give him one more chance to obey the original order. Calling him up, I asked him if he was ready to take his battalion to Chicago over the Chicago & Alton road. . . . He then replied that he would go over the Alton but that he would not do so if he had been able to get the necessary cars on another road. . . . Major Buckner was laboring under great excitement and this accounted for the course I took. I gave him the benefit of it."

The orders spoken of by Colonel Smith were issued by express authority of Governor Tanner. . . . The Governor was in a barber's chair when information was brought to him concerning the trouble. He made inquiry to learn whether Buckner's complaint about the cars was well founded and the information he received was that the coaches were better ones than he had been in the

habit of riding in down to his Southern Illinois apple farm. "Then," said the governor, "remove Buckner and put in a man who is willing to obey the orders of the department."

On the strength of this, the orders were made out but the kindly and conservative nature of Colonel Smith stood between the business-like determination of the governor and the unruly Major, and it did not become necessary to serve them.

Shortly afterwards, Major Buckner was tried by court-martial and his commission was taken from him. John R. Marshall succeeded him as major and rose to colonel when the colored detachment was increased to a full regiment and designated the 8th Illinois. (This was the first Negro regiment to be sent to Cuba for the Spanish-American War.)

Camp Lincoln was able to play a better role when race riots broke out in Springfield, August 14-16, 1908. Negroes seeking protection were assembled at the camp site, and after nightfall were taken to the city under guard and quartered in the state arsenal while 4,000 militiamen remained on duty in Springfield. The following day, August 17, 100 Negroes were being sheltered in the state armory, according to the *Illinois State Journal*. During encampment the next summer, the colored 8th Illinois Infantry was confined to camp grounds because of still unsettled conditions in Springfield.

By comparison, other difficulties encountered by the National guard seem minor. One accident, even though it cost the state \$1,400 and an innocent farm hand several weeks in the hospital, evoked humorous comment years later. It all began on July 15, 1889, when H. M. Canson, raking hay on the Lee Hickox farm one-half mile north of the Camp Lincoln targets, was struck in the leg by a stray bullet. The highly indignant Mr. Hickox declared that "his family have been in constant

fear every time there has been an encampment" and that he would "take immediate steps to have the rifle practice discontinued or to have the range changed."⁹

In reply, Adjutant General Joseph W. Vance stated:

Since Camp Lincoln was established, in 1886, the Illinois National Guard has fired between 500,000 and 600,000 rounds in rifle practice. The accident Wednesday was the first that ever occurred. . . . It has not been an uncommon thing in other states for men to be killed, maybe through carelessness and maybe not. Accidents cannot always be foreseen and prevented. . . .

We have readjusted the rifle range.¹⁰

Hickox took the case to court, winning \$1,000 damages for Canson, and \$400 for himself in compensation for the hay crop he had to abandon. In 1891, Adjutant General Jasper N. Reece asked Hickox to vacate his farm during the encampment, a mediation board fixing payment at \$230, or \$10 a day. When the National Guard erected a large oak barricade back of the target in 1895, a typical comment was that it would serve "to prevent marksmen from throwing hot lead into the next county."

Disciplinary measures within the camp also had both tragic and comic aspects. There was the case of a soldier who took a reprimand so seriously that he tried to commit suicide. Called to task for not keeping his head up during dress parade on Governor's Day, August 14, 1891, a private fell on the point of his bayonet after failing in a previous attempt to stab himself. Fortunately, the wound was only three inches deep and he recovered rapidly.

When the sentry of Battery A fell asleep at his post one night in 1889, he was corrected in a way he remembered for a long time. Lieutenant Colonel D. Jack Foster

⁹ *Illinois State Journal*, July 16, 1889.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, July 18, 1889.

and Major Edward Kittilsen came upon the sleeping soldier and quietly pulled to headquarters the battery gun he should have been guarding. Next day when it was discovered that the gun was missing, the sentry was arrested and the camp was searched. All the encampment turned out to watch while the embarrassed soldier pulled the gun across the parade ground, preceded by the band playing "Johnny Get Your Gun."

Very different was the offense for which an overzealous officer was disciplined. Captain S. B. Kerr of Metropolis, disturbed because there were no new enlistments in his company, crossed into Kentucky and recruited about sixty men. Although these men were good shots and enjoyed camp life, they made a poor showing in military drill. Colonel Relly M. Smith informed Captain Kerr that he must bring them up to standard or resign. One of the recruits overheard the conversation and, according to the *Illinois State Journal* of August 5, 1892, replied, "Waal, Cunnel, you can't put us out so pow'ful bad, because, by Gawd, I live in Kaintucky." An investigation followed, the captain resigned and his company was disbanded.

IV. AMUSEMENT

Not all was drill and discipline. There were dances and athletic meets, parodies on the daily routine and general conviviality.

Awards of medals and money for good marksmanship stirred up keen competition among the men and were effective in raising standards of the corps as a whole. Some of these awards were put up by officers, others by Springfield citizens. Among the latter, first offered in

1886, were the Saint Nicholas Hotel prize, a \$30 water set for the company making the highest score at all distances; the Klaholt prize, a \$50 silver cup, which went to the officer or enlisted man with the best record of firing offhand at 200 yards, to remain in the possession of the winner's company until it was taken twice by one man, then to be presented to that winner; the \$25 Leland medal, to be won under the same conditions as the Klaholt prize, except that firing was from the 500 yard line.

The Illinois National Guard took permanent possession of the Washburn trophy in 1903 after its ten-man rifle team won three times in competition with Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota. First meet for the prize offered by Senator W. D. Washburn of Minnesota was held at Camp Lincoln in 1891; the second followed at Fort Sheridan, Illinois, in 1892, and the third, in 1903, in Minnesota. Michigan, also eligible for the competition, did not enter the first year.

Athletic meets were a standard part of the encampments, events including the 50-, 100-, 220-, and 440-yard dash, hammer and discus throw, shot-put, running high jump, standing broad jump, running broad jump, and pole vault. The tilting tournament was an affair designed particularly for the cavalry. Three rings, each about four inches in diameter, were suspended 150 feet apart on the parade ground. Participants rushed down the field on horseback and attempted to spear the rings with lances made of bamboo fishing poles.

A favorite diversion was the mock event; nothing was sacred, drill, parade, or court-martial. The first brigade set the pace the third day of the first encampment while the cavalry was going through its routine.

Some comrades brought out the wooden horses on which the dining tables had rested and started out for a little fun of their own.

The wooden horse brigade drilled with all seriousness. Finally a trooper was dismounted and a mock ambulance corps went out on the double quick. . . . A hobby horse which had suffered a broken limb, was carefully lifted on the stretcher and carried back to camp, where a surgeon armed with hammer and nails carefully cared for its hurts.¹¹

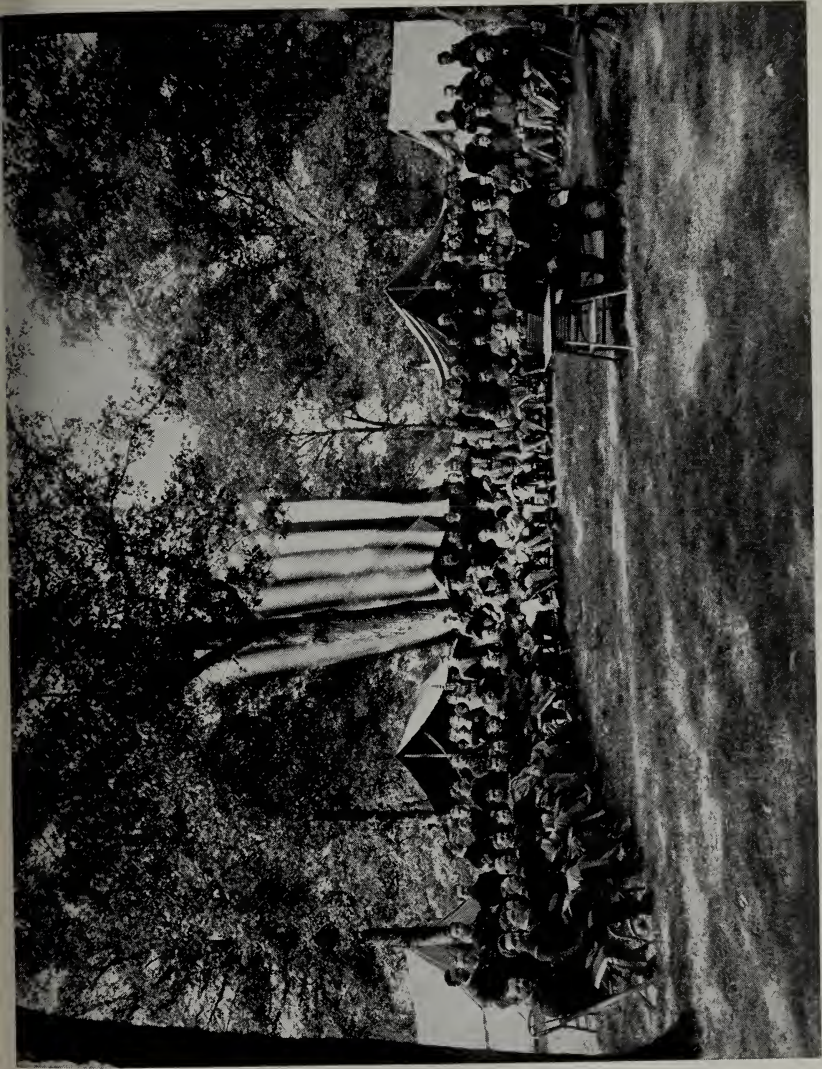
A mock dress parade of the 2nd regimental band in 1889 was "the most comical thing of the camp. . . . Every ludicrous uniform that could be thought of was brought into use and the appearance was as grotesque as the music was hideous."¹² In 1895 there was another, that time by members of the 1st Regiment: "About 300 men, each clad in habiliments peculiar to himself, marched behind the band, each member of which played a tune different from that followed by any other player. The spectacle afforded much amusement for the lookers-on."¹³ In 1889 Corporal Fred Deming and Private Arthur C. Senate were tried in mock court-martial by the 1st Infantry. Senate was charged with buying a keg of cider and paying for it himself. Corporal Deming, who had been elected bar boy, aroused suspicion when he could not account for all the drinks. Amid general hilarity, both were found guilty, but no penalty was invoked.

Civilians as well as soldiers made the most of the swimming pool, which, though filled only during encampments, was open to male camp visitors. There were three drownings between 1895 and 1899. The pool was

¹¹ *Illinois State Register*, July 19, 1886.

¹² *Illinois State Journal*, July 12, 1889.

¹³ *Ibid.*, July 20, 1895.



OFFICERS AND NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AT CAMP LINCOLN, 1902
Seated in front: Col. Joseph D. Sanborn, left, Col. and Ass't Adj. Gen. Theodore Ewert, right

closed in 1902 and temporary showers substituted. The following year a substantial bath house with sixty showers was built.

Papers were published at Camp Lincoln at two different periods, first by W. J. Roberts of Bloomington, member of the 4th Regiment. Using a small hand press, he printed news of the camp in a single edition issued at the end of the eight-day encampment in 1889. He also printed the menu for the Governor's Day dinner and turned out other small jobs around the camp. A second camp paper, the *Daily Bugle*, was published by Privates Emil Anderson and William C. Goss of Geneseo and circulated among members of the 6th Regiment every afternoon.

Several of the companies had mascots, but the 8th Infantry, from 1889 to 1892, boasted a small zoo. The red fox, raccoon, chicken, and squirrel in the menagerie owned by Robert Shaw, Company G, of Metropolis, drew these sketches from the *Illinois State Journal*, August 14, 1889:

They are all pets and have the freedom of the house when at home. The raccoon is a fine specimen of his kind, but he has not yet learned to appreciate a brass-band. He makes a desperate effort to hide when he hears the regimental band coming. The fox, on the other hand, brightens up and looks as though he expected to see the Salvation Army coming round the corner. The chicken was put to roost last night on a high limb, out of the reach of the company cooks.

Enlisted in the National Guard were many talented men who entertained Sunday visitors in the company streets of the camp. Sunday band programs always drew a large attendance. They may have been the source of a story that still goes the rounds of the audience at any

open-air concert. The *Illinois State Journal* printed its version as early as July 23, 1889:

The band, when it plays "Robin Adair" sends out a hundred yards or more away, a man with a cornet. At the proper point, this man sounds his instrument and the music proceeds. The band played "Robin Adair" Sunday night. There was a pause in the playing, and the cornetist chimed in. . . . "Stop that horn!" shouted the guard. "Gimme that horn and gimme the countersign!" The cornetist gave the countersign, but substituted some forcible English for the cornet. This musician has had a hard row to hoe since the band has been playing "Robin Adair." At Rockford, a short time ago, while he was performing the "echo" part, he was seized by policemen who took him under arrest for disturbing the band.

V. RELIGIOUS AND OTHER EVENTS

Sundays had their solemn side, of course, the men attending camp religious services in the morning. The first open-air military mass in the United States was held at Camp Lincoln on July 21, 1895, and drew 10,000 people, among them Governor and Mrs. John P. Altgeld. The altar, an elevated platform with a canopy, was set up in the grove north of the tenting area; mass books were held in place by four bayonets. Music was provided by the 7th regimental band and the combined choirs of the Immaculate Conception and St. Joseph's churches of Springfield. Military high mass was celebrated in the open air again the following year on July 12.

Another impressive ceremony at Camp Lincoln was the presentation to the state of the flag of the 1st Illinois Infantry and the blue guidon of the 4th Illinois Cavalry. Colonel Fred Bennitt, on behalf of the citizens of Ottawa, Illinois, handed the banners to Governor Tanner in 1897 for display in the "Room of Honor" in the

newly-constructed state capitol, the second built in Springfield. Colors of other regiments were later presented to the state in various ceremonies, the complete collection being moved to the Illinois Centennial Building upon its completion.

Organizations outside the National Guard have been permitted use of the grounds for state-wide meetings or conventions. Knights of Pythias, Illinois Brigade, gathered at Camp Lincoln from August 17 to 21 in 1895, the state of Illinois furnishing tents and equipment. In 1902 the first annual meeting of the Spanish-American War Veterans, Department of Illinois, was held, July 22, during the encampment of the 6th Regiment. It was a memorable occasion for the veterans, for most of them had had their military training on that very site and it reminded them of their former life at Camp Lincoln—a pleasant mixture of hard work and good times.

VI. REAWAKENING

Rehabilitation of Camp Lincoln was under way several years before the United States entered upon its current defense preparations. Since 1936 appropriations of more than a million dollars have been spent to bring the camp to its maximum efficiency. A Works Project Administration grant of \$380,000, supplemented by \$20,000 from the state, started the improvements in 1936. Under this appropriation a brick range house, a machine-gun range, and a pistol range were built. A new water system was installed and Spring Creek was straightened. In addition, all roads in the camp were resurfaced and the camp grounds landscaped.

A second grant of \$400,000 in 1937 was used to build

new barracks, stables, and a riding hall. This year, 1941, a \$380,000 W. P. A. grant directly from the federal government is financing the construction of an armory, which will house the equipment and supplies of the mechanized 106th Cavalry. Plans call for the completion of the structure by April, 1942, when the cavalry is due to return from Camp Livingston, Louisiana.

ENGLISH SETTLERS IN ILLINOIS

BY GRANT FOREMAN

WE are accustomed to think of the pioneer days of Illinois as days of spartan simplicity, hardship and often privation that challenged the fortitude of the stoutest hearts. While there was another side to the picture, one can never know the full joy of life rural Illinois afforded in those remote days unless he sees it through the eyes of the immigrant translated from the poverty and oppression of English servitude to the opulence of the prodigal young American state.

To the English immigrant of a hundred years ago, the privilege of living in this country was a boon indeed. Life was simple and often hard, but the immigrants found it a paradise. The miracle of abundant food, of meat every day, was indeed something to write home about. And they wrote voluminously to their relatives and friends of this and other wonders of the vastly more abundant life they found here. Let the person who is dissatisfied with his lot and the way things are run in this country read the letter of the young English immigrant girl at Kaskaskia who grew lyrical over the new life that yielded her \$1.00 a week and her keep.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, Birkbeck, Flower and other Englishmen¹ had made southern

¹ Morris Birkbeck, *Letters from Illinois* and George Flower, *Errors of Emigrants*; other prints consulted by prospective emigrants included William Faux, *Memorable Days in Illinois*; Cleaver, *Emigrants' Handbook*; S. Sidney, *Emigrant's Journal*; William Mann, *Emigrants' Complete Guide to the United States of America*; the *Yorkshire Farmer in Illinois*.

Illinois known to England, and it was only natural that with the agitation following the Poor Laws, the Chartists and the Corn Laws, when Englishmen scattered over the world, many should direct their course to Illinois. Birkbeck's settlement, however, was the destination of only a small part of the Illinois immigrants.² From Perry and Randolph counties, from Kaskaskia, Albion, Alton, Jacksonville, Nauvoo, Canton and Pekin, they wrote letters back to their relatives and friends in England and these were printed in British newspapers. Examination of files of these papers in the British Museum has brought to light interesting accounts of Illinois of a century ago that localize these English settlements.

The potters of England, in an effort to reduce unemployment in their craft, organized a society to promote the acquisition of land in the United States and the financing of emigration to that remote country. The society established a paper that published many letters from English immigrants in Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa and Ohio.³ A copy of this paper came to the notice of William Lee D. Ewing,⁴ auditor of public accounts for the State of Illinois, who on July 30, 1844, wrote the Society a long letter from Springfield detailing many advantages of emigration to the state, and soliciting employment in securing land for it. This letter was printed in full in the *Examiner*.⁵

Ewing gave much interesting information. He de-

² George Flower, *History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois*.

³ *Potters' Examiner and Workmen's Advocate*. The first issue appeared Dec. 2, 1843. It was published weekly and circulated in the pottery towns of Staffordshire. The first nine issues were printed at Hanley, and later publication was at Burslem.

⁴ Ewing, a resident of Vandalia, was appointed to this office in March, 1843. He had previously been a member of the Illinois House of Representatives and the United States Congress and had served as Governor of Illinois for fifteen days.

⁵ *Potters' Examiner*, I: 138.

scribed the geography of the country; explained what the word "prairies" meant:

Plains without trees and covered during the proper season with a thick sward of good grass for the feeding of cattle. . . . The opening of a farm in this country is comparatively of little cost. Material for building cheap; say for instance first rate pine boards at fifteen dollars or nearly £5 [*sic*] for 1,000 feet. I have surveyed several hundred thousand acres of land in Illinois, and am therefore intimately acquainted with its location, and profess to know something about its various rich soils.

He said that he could not secure as much as 12,000 acres in one body desirably located, which was what the potters wanted, and for lack of which they finally located their colony in Wisconsin.⁶ But he said that he could get land in smaller tracts from individual owners at from \$2.00 to \$3.00 an acre within 45 miles of St. Louis, "a city situate on the great Mississippi river and containing a population of 35,000 souls and within 25 or 30 miles of Alton, on the same river—population about 6,000."

Concerning the expense of improving the twenty-acre farms they contemplated, he said:

[One can] procure the building of a comfortable log house, such as the mass of our population live in, with two rooms, and a passage between them, two doors, one in each room, two windows in each room, one chimney in each room, with a good floor, a stable, such as we have in this country on the most of our farms, for four horses, a corn-crib, or rather, a house wherein to secure Indian corn, a well dug and walled up with brick or rock, with windlass and bucket. All these, I say, I can procure the building of, for 450 dollars, or perhaps less. I can have ten acres of ground ploughed for 25 dollars. I can have it put under secure fencing for about 100 dollars, and perhaps less. In some situations I know for less. The first year, you plant your ground in Indian corn on the tough prairie sod, which will produce you about twenty-five bushels of corn to

⁶ Grant Foreman, "Settlement of English Potters in Wisconsin," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Vol. XXI, no. 4 (June, 1938) 374-96.

the acre *without cultivation*, worth forty-five cents or twenty-pence per bushels. Thus you can procure a home, land costing about two and a half dollars per acre, for less than 625 dollars. The production of the ten acres of Indian corn would be, on an average, worth to you about sixty-two dollars, independent of the production of the garden.

After the first year, your land would produce, according to cultivation, from fifty to seventy-five bushels of corn (Indian) per acre, or twenty-five to thirty-five bushels of wheat, sixty of oats, thirty to forty of rye, three hundred to five hundred bushels of potatoes (Irish). For your own subsistence you can purchase pork at one and a half to two dollars per 100 lbs.; beef, ditto; mutton, ditto; poultry at half a dollar to three quarters per dozen; butter ten to thirteen-pence per lb.; flour, at three and a half to four dollars per barrel, or 196 lbs., with the barrel; work horses (good) can be had from forty to fifty dollars per head; good milch cows, from eight to twelve dollars; sheep, at one and a half to two dollars per head; best Berkshire hogs very low—at what particular price I cannot say.

. . . Come to our country! Its government is mild and parental. It is boundless in extent, the fertility of its soil incomparable. Its health in such places as I and others can select, as good as any in any part of the world. . . . Clay for porcelain and earthenware is found in great abundance in this state. . . . The title of the Chief Magistrate is Governor, and not President. The name of the present Governor of Illinois is Thomas Ford.⁷

Scores of letters written by English immigrants in Illinois were discovered and read. They were all addressed to parents, brothers and sisters back in England and reproduced in provincial English newspapers, for the contents had an irresistible appeal to land-hungry and food-hungry tenantry. They all told of the abundance and cheapness of food in Illinois, a subject the writers never tired of, and which they knew would hold spellbound the incredulous readers they hoped would follow them to this land of plenty. There was little money in circulation. The country had not recovered from the crash of 1837 and the closing of banks

⁷ Thomas Ford was Governor of Illinois from 1842 to 1846.

throughout the country—bank issues were of uncertain value. But when there was no money, food commodities would answer as a medium of exchange.

A potter who shared with some others the reprehensible habit of signing his letter with only his initials for publication, wrote from Alton on November 1, 1841:

My brother Thomas went down to town today, and bought the hind quarter of a cow eighty-seven pounds weight, for one dollar and twenty-five cents. Last week, I bought one ham, twenty-six pounds weight, for one dollar; and twenty chickens, for one dollar and ten cents.⁸

Then, as if to tax the credulity of the family in England:

We can afford to put two or three of the latter into each pie we make; but my wife is almost tired of chickens and eggs. We made nine pies today of different sorts, for we never think we have had our meals if there should not be two or three pies, either of chickens, beef, pork, or apples, on the table. We begin to feel very dainty;—we often say, when we are sitting down to a good cup of tea, that if we were to return to England, we should not know how to make three pounds of beef last through the week, for we generally have here from fifteen to twenty pounds of beef per week, and ten pounds of ham, two pounds of butter, three ounces of tea, three pounds of sugar, one peck of potatoes, one stone⁹ of flour, and apples and fruit in abundance! We often have wild ducks, partridges, pigeons, rabbits, venison, and many other good things that we never expected to have ever tasted in England. We are very comfortable, and should be much more so if our parents were with us. We want you to be here, to partake of our hams. We intend buying six of the best we can find in town this winter, and curing them ourselves. We have each bought a cow, and also two horses for the family. . . . From its drawing toward Martinmas¹⁰ we thought proper to take stock, when we found, that the value of our goods, at the factory, amounted to about eight hundred dollars.

⁸ *Potters' Examiner*, I: 167.

⁹ Stone: A weight containing fourteen pounds; a stone of meat is eight pounds.

¹⁰ Martinmass: The feast of St. Martin, Nov. 11, commonly corrupted to Martil-mass and Martlemass.

And surely this opulence would astound father, mother, sisters and brothers and envious neighbors when they heard the news:

We are worth about four hundred dollars in clear property! Tell William he may sell my violin, and appropriate the money towards defraying his expenses in coming to us, for we want him to be here, as soon as he can make it convenient to come. Tell him that Thomas and Sarah want him to assist them in fetching the cows up, and to go with Mr. Robinson's boys into the woods, to gather grapes and nuts; and tell little Henry that his sister wants to see him, and that when he arrives here we intend presenting him with a calf. . . .

Mr. Robinson and Mr. Goodwin and families, Mr. Barrisford and Mr. James came all in good health; and the day after their arrival, we had a goose for supper—and a joyful time we had. . . . We have engaged Mr. Tams to work for us. I informed you we had bought two horses last week. T. Olivant went into the woods to fetch a load of wood with one of them. On returning back, my brother Thomas in taking it to the stable, was thrown out of the waggon, and received a bit of a shaking, but no serious injury. The accident was caused by the reins breaking, and the horse taking fright.

The first time we drew our kiln, I wish you had been here to have seen the sight. It was such a one that I never expected to see. There were three potsellers, with their waggons, waiting for the ware, as it came out of the kiln. All the ware was drawn, packed, and sold before dinner! The weather is milder now than it was at this time last year, for we were obliged then to cease work, from the frost being so severe, but now we are busy as we can be. Give our love to my father, mother, brothers, and sisters; and tell them all, they must come as soon as they can, for we want them to be with us. Tell my father that he must not think of farming for the first twelve months after he comes here, as he will do better by potting, for we often want his assistance. If he were with us, we should do much better than we are doing, although we are in as good circumstances as could be expected, from our being but young men, and in a strange land.

Hoping you will make yourselves as happy as you can, and that the time is not far distant when we shall all meet together at Alton, believe us to remain your affectionate Son and Daughter.

Benjamin Berrisford, another English potter, came to Illinois also by way of the Mississippi River. He located at Alton with some fellow countrymen, and on December 19, 1843 wrote to his wife in England that he would send for his family as soon as he could get the money, which was very scarce.

But of meat *there is more than can be eaten!* Beef I can buy at one half-penny per pound; pork such as you would make sausage of, at one farthing per pound; deer I can buy a whole carcass for two shillings-and-six-pence or three shillings. Hens are two pence half-penny each; pigs I could buy eight or nine for about twelve shillings which would be worth £9 in England. I went to the pork house this morning, for some spareribs, and I bought for two-pence-halfpenny as much as I could carry home; so here is the place for cheap living.¹¹

He enclosed a separate letter to the children: "Be careful, my dear children, and save all that you can, for, most likely, I shall send for you towards the latter end of the summer." He had brought from England a quantity of clay pipes hoping to turn them at a profit, but could do little with them, "as the people here smoke cigars." He was curious to know how the potato crop at home had turned out. Reminded of some of the oppressions in England, he regaled the children with the difference in Illinois:

My children, I have never seen Old Gibbs, with his Poor's Book, nor Hilton with his Blue-Bottle¹² Book, since I have been in this country; for instead of policemen, we have pigs to guard our house at night. We can leave anything out at night, and find it there next morning. We have had as much flesh meat hanging under the porch of our house as any butcher in the Potteries stands market with.

¹¹ *Potters' Examiner*, I: 47.

¹² Bluebottle: A name sometimes applied to a policeman or constable; used by Shakespeare in *Henry IV*, Part II, Act V, Scene 4. *Slang Dictionary* (London, Chatto and Windus, 1910), 88.

I believe from what I can see of the country, it is likely to become a fine place in the course of time. Alton is a terrible place for pig-slaughtering; there are about 2,000 killed here every week, for about five months in the year. Wages run from three to five shillings per day; so wages are pretty good considering the price of provisions. Flour is but one shilling per stone, and butter from fourpence to sixpence per pound; lard from 2½ to 3d per pound; sugar 4d to 5d; coffee 5d, tobacco 5d to 6d per pound; cheese from 3d to 4; soap 4d; tea, best 4s per pound.

The anonymous potter again wrote from Alton, September 12, 1843, of the progress of their pottery:

We have built our new kiln, and a very pretty one it is, too; and, as the Americans say, "I guess it will shine when it is fired full of glost ware:" which circumstance will not be long before it takes place; and then I should like for the whole of you to be here, that you may see the reward of persevering industry. Our old slip kiln, not being large enough for our present purposes, we have built another this week, which is 21 feet long by 5 feet wide. We have engaged a sagger-maker, a dish-maker, a hollow-ware presser, a man to throw coarse ware, and now we are going to send to St. Lewis for a slip maker. I will now tell my brother B. a few of our prices, so that if he thinks he can earn at those prices sufficient to purchase a little bread and a few potatoes, we should like him to come, as we will undertake to find him plenty of beef and pork to them; although, perhaps, when he comes here, we shall find him something else to do. For ewers we pay 4s. per dozen; for chambers, 4s. 6d; for cover-dishes, 3s. 3d.; for 4's jugs, plain 3s. 3d. per dozen; and 12's French, 2s. 11d.; for round nappies, 12's 5d. per dozen; 11's 4½d.; 10's, 4d.; 9's, 3½d.; 8's, 7's, 6's, 2½d., per dozen; and for plates, twifflers, and muffins, 4s. 2d. per score. Such are our prices!

We were very sorry to hear of our mother and sister being ill, but we sincerely hope they are better again. We wish they were here to taste some of our fruit. Talk about fruit, indeed! My wife says she is wearied of the sight of it, for we have never been without apples, plums, peaches, and a number of others too numerous to mention, since we came to America. Sarah says you must try to come as soon as you can, to taste some of our preserves. While I am writing, the kettle is over the fire full of plums! When you sent us word you were getting ready to come with James . . . we were full of joy, but it did not last long, for we soon learned that Mr. G. was coming without you.

But we must be drawing towards a conclusion. We are now in a brick house, which contains four large rooms. Mr. Williams . . . has left Mrs. . . . and is coming to work with us. You must excuse my not writing sooner, as I have been waiting for the finishing of our kiln. We expected it to have been finished sooner, but we have put off the business, week after week, 'till now. You shall have another letter in about a month after you receive this. We feel anxious to hear from you. You must let us know how trade is with you when you write next.¹³

While running this series of contemporary letters, the *Examiner* came into possession of one written long before the potters' movement was inaugurated. It bore the date of February 11, 1831, and was written by John and Elizabeth Kilham to their brothers and sisters. They arrived and settled, July 24, 1830, four miles west of Jacksonville, a village of 700 inhabitants. Their letter was filled with accounts of the many blessings they enjoyed: they had purchased for 5s. 7½d per acre, 510 acres of land, 190 of timber and 320 of prairie; game was plenty, and they could hunt to their hearts' content with no fear of being charged with poaching; there was no tithe nor tax on the land until after five years, and then only one penny per acre; they could make their own candles or soap, and grow tobacco or anything else without paying a tax to the government; there were no excisemen nor other inspecting officers such as they had been accustomed to in England. They had four yoke of oxen, steers, milk cows and pigs.

They were all prospering; brother William had cleared \$110 in eight months, besides being furnished with meat, washing, mending and lodging. They cut all the wild hay they needed on the prairies, and found wild plums and berries; but they requested numerous

¹³ *Potters' Examiner*, I: 175.

items from home: plum seeds, pears, cherries, black currant berries, onion seed, strawberries, "potatoes, ash tops, early rounds, apple potatoes and different sorts;" red clover seed, six good rough topcoats, six dark-colored waistcoats, two hare shag coats, two hoppers, one wheat riddle, and one oat wire riddle, a recipe for making fire bricks.

Their neighbors included Englishmen named William Hall, William Kilham, John Leach, Adam Allison, John Lembrough, John Lazenby, and others whose names were not given. W. H. Sykehouse and Mr. Gelders of Moorends and Mr. Barker of Pontefract were on the way. There was an urgent demand for tradesmen, tinners, wireworkers, brickmakers, millwrights and stonemasons, as all the arriving artisans had turned farmers.¹⁴

Mary Harvey, a young English emigrant girl, wrote in January, 1844, at Kaskaskia, the historic town long since swept away by the raging Mississippi:

We are now all comfortably situated, and all as happy as we possibly can be, separated from our dearly-beloved mother! We had a pleasant voyage to New Orleans. From New Orleans to this place is about 1,450 miles. It is one of the oldest settlements in this part of the continent, founded in the same year as Philadelphia. We met some gentlemen on the steamboat, as we were going up the river, who engaged us all, and promised us all situations.

Harriet got married the day after we arrived here. We are at the residence of one of the finest ladies in the place. She is the daughter of the richest man in this part of the country. There were present a number of the finest gentlemen and ladies in the city. Such is the equality with which strangers are received here. Harriet and her husband live on a farm about a mile from the city, and are well and comfortably situated, he is very kind to her, and she says she is very happy. They so far have rendered perfect satisfaction to his employer (for there are no masters here except over negroes), he does not receive much wages yet, as he is not accustomed to the

¹⁴ *Potters' Examiner*, I: 38.

country and the kind of work that he is engaged in. I spent a few weeks with them before I got a situation. Now I will give you a specimen of the manner of living. The first evening of marriage they had prepared for them a large pot of broth, made from five fat hens;—a great dish with the folks here,—it is called “borgoo.”¹⁵

In her enthusiasm Mary could not resist making the mouths of mother, father, brother and sister water by the incredible account of luxuries surrounding her: On Christmas day she, Alfred and Harriet sat down to five fat roasted sucking pigs; on New Year’s day they dined on a large fat turkey stuffed with sage and onions; and equally incredible, they had *tea and coffee at every meal*.

Meat of every description in plenty; our tables they are loaded with beef, mutton, pork, and bacon, at every meal. We have had wild turkeys, venison, pheasants, partridges, and rabbits in abundance. Wild ducks and geese are as plentiful here as the partridges. A good hunter will kill more game in a few hours than he can carry home.

But though, my dear mother, I am living in a finer country than ever my imagination had pictured to me as existing in this world, I can never be happy until I see you, and find my bosom beating against yours. If you can only make up your mind to come here, I will send you the money. I should then be as happy as I can be in this life. I cannot, my dear mother, express the love I feel for you; nor can words express the desire of my heart to see you again. Disquietude will attend my nights until I feel your embrace, and fold in my arms my dearest mother. You can live happily here, with the pleasure of seeing your children happy and comfortable; growing in wealth and honor as long as they are industrious and honest.

I am out at service by the week. I have one dollar per week, every thing found me except clothes. There are but three in the family, the doctor, his wife, and child. I go to see Harriet every Sunday on horse-back. Last week I went to a ball, three miles from this place, in a rig with a young gentleman. We had a very pleasant party. Plenty of good-looking gentlemen, and all of them elegant dancers. They dance a great deal here, and enjoy themselves in every innocent way.

¹⁵ *Potters' Examiner*, I: 14.

Tell Eliza not to fall in love in England, as the beaux are in plenty here; good-looking, rich, polite and attentive, and treat all young ladies with the greatest decorum, let them be ever so poor, and as perfect equals. There is no distinction here, except what is called by money and learning. The poor marry the rich, and the rich marry the poor. A labourer's son is as good as the governor's son. The young gentleman that took me to the ball, told me that nearly all the great officers of this state had been poor friendless boys, without much money or education when they started in life. The United States Senator, the greatest man in the State, was a mechanic's son. The governor¹⁶ was a wood-chopper when he was twenty years of age. . . . Kiss Eliza, Ellen, Elizabeth, Ann and Sarah for me: Tell them not to forget me in their evening and morning prayers. I never close my eyes, my dear mother, without beseeching the Almighty to grant that I may see you all in this happy and fruitful country. . . .

I cannot picture to you the treasures of this country, or the advantages, as nobody, that is industrious, can help becoming rich! Beef costs two farthings per lb.; Pork two farthings per lb.; Potatoes four-pence a bushell; Chickens four shillings a dozen; fine Horses one pound sterling, that would cost five or six in England; four-year-old Horses, unbroken, two pounds; cows from one to two pounds. . . . I just now saw the leg of an eagle, that would fly off with a large lamb. Every man can shoot whatever game he sees; be it where it may; no matter whose land it is on. My paper will compell me to conclude, but I could write for a week, as I have much to tell. One mile from the house where Alfred lives, flows the great Mississippi river, two miles wide, and the water running along at ten miles per hour; and which you will have to come up, if you come to this country. On the other side is the beautiful river Kaskaskia, flowing along so sweetly, like the favoured river of Canaan, through a land of milk and honey! for this is one, if there be such on this terrestrial globe! To conclude; you must picture us as happy as we can possibly be without your being here, and having nothing to desire but your presence with us, to make us happy! There is not a single person in this country but who can always get plenty to eat, let them be never so idle; as it is in such abundance, and so exceedingly cheap. Everything is cheap, except such things as they bring from England. Advise all friends that come, to bring plenty of clothes, shoes, pots, and such things as are very cheap. These are

¹⁶ Thomas Ford was Governor, Sidney Breese of Carlyle and James Semple of Alton were United States senators from Illinois at that time.

useful here. Harriet and Alfred send their love to you and all friends. I am grown so lusty that my clothes will hardly hook on me. Harriet's cheeks are as red and plump as ever, though she is not so stout as she was. I must conclude, my dear friends, by assuring you that health, peace, happiness, prosperity for you, is the prayer of my mother's devoted daughter,

Mary Harvey.

Direct: Kaskaskia, Illinois, United States of America.

Another Englishman who identified himself only by the initial "S" came to Albion in Birkbeck's settlement. Writing to his father, mother, brothers and sisters in the spring of 1844 he admitted that he had been ill, but he said:

If you would give me my former situation, and pay my passage back, we are all in one mind, we would not return. We met with our inconveniences, but what of that? As to our travels, I think I have related them up to New York; from there to Albany we proceeded in a tow boat, one hundred and sixty miles, paid 1 dollar each, luggage free; from Albany to Buffalo, three hundred and sixty-three miles, 3 dollars each, luggage free, five days on our passage; from Buffalo to Erie, on the Lake Erie, ninety miles, 1 dollar, 50 cents each, luggage free. If you come this way, and the wind be high, you will find it unpleasant as the sea; a steamboat leaves every morning, they told us. There was a canal cutting from Cleveland to Cincinnati, some said it was finished, but others said not; I should think if it be completed when you come, it would be the best way, as we found water conveyance to be a great deal cheaper, and much pleasanter, than land. At Erie we engaged a waggon and six horses, bearing seventeen bells, for $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents per lb.; 2 dollars 50 cents for each woman, one hundred and sixty miles to Pittsburgh; but the man, for his own interest, took us a way that brought us to Beavers, thirty miles below Pittsburgh, and here we had to stop three days waiting for a boat, and being weary we bought an old ferry boat, and got some pine and fitted it up so we could lodge in it, and we ran down near a thousand miles in fifteen days, and lay by at nights, and stopped at Mount Vernon, and then sent G. Curtis to Mr. Lambert's, for we could not engage a team, and Mr. Lambert was so kind as to come eighty-six miles, and brought us up here, and only charged expenses, and we arrived on the 10th of July.

Land, with or without wood, is 1 dollar 25 cents per acre, and we are in hopes it will drop to 75 cents; meat 2 cents per lb.; flour $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents. I bought a cow and a calf for less than 8 dollars, and I think they would be worth as many pounds with you; a poor man must work all summer with you for a cow, but here he may earn one in a few days, and have the summer's run for nothing, as many hogs as he pleases, and plenty of deer. I intend to have another cow or two as soon as possible, and have bought some India corn for winter fodder; I have three acres of land, two of which I have sown with corn, which is coming up well.

As to trying to entice people to come, I have seen so much dissatisfaction in W. C.¹⁷ that it keeps me from it. Those who come here to do better than their means will allow, get disappointed; they that come to do as well as they can, get on best. There is an old man lives here, who, some time ago, had scarcely a single dollar; now, most of his seven children have farms of their own, and the others, as they rise, will have the same chance, which, in England, not one of them would have had. All that come with industry and economy may soon fare well. There are many who choose a place and build a log house, and there live until they save as much as will buy eighty or a hundred and sixty acres of land; these make themselves a happy people. Poor men that come here may enjoy the ancient privileges of Old England; and all that come and make themselves at home will do well. Do not think it to be a place of sickness, because we have been sick; for Mr. Lambert's have all missed, and the old settlers told us there had not been such a summer for dryness and sickness, and J. Charlesworth says he has not seen a place or part he likes as well as this.

As for luggage, a little will do for a single man that does not know where he is to settle; but if I had to come now, I would bring my iron crow, chisels, hammer, wood team, and a many more such; some of them I sold for 1d. or 2d. per lb., and here I must give 25 cents; iron is $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents per lb.; and the smith charges $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents for working it. If you sell your best traces for so high a price as 8d. per lb., that perhaps will be all; then judge about it. I don't say bring any sort of lumber but such as is most useful. If you buy an iron spade or two at Liverpool to bring with you, you should use them a little to make them look old, that they may pass free from duty; bring also a cutting knife or two, and give G. S. 1s. for the frame saw irons; they may never be of any use to him.

¹⁷ London is divided into eight postal districts, of which the West Central is one. Mail originating in that district usually bears the designation of "W. C."

Get my uncle, W. B., to get me a well-finished lathe spindle at Doncaster, as cheap as he can; one here will cost more than with you; and a set of turning chisels and gauges, from a hardware shop, 5 Stringdale-street, Liverpool. Bring two or three dozen of hand-saw files, and your solid irons with you; they are 50 cents or more here. I believe all cast work, clear of rough or polish, is as cheap at Pittsburgh or Cincinnati, as it is with you. Don't bring a shot gun with you, for they are good for nothing here; rifles are all used here; and if you have bought a gun, sell it, for it will not be worth as many dollars here, as pounds with you. Bring your feather-beds with you; bring us a pair of strong iron candlesticks; bring your sound and useful pots. A set of china here is 8 dollars, such as you may get for 2 dollars, and all other pots accordingly. We give $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents for a basin, such as you may get for 2d. or less. Tin-ware is dear and bad; fire irons are dear. We feel a great want for iron ovens. But side-ovens require wide ranges; there is not a range in all this settlement. There is a sheet-iron oven or two, but they make them hot with a fire to themselves. Bring no plough irons. All this is different advice from others, but believe it is right.

I shall now give you a definition of the money in the New York States: they say 8s. to the dollar, and in this State but 6s. You must be aware of the Yankees, lest they cheat you. You must always recollect there are 100 cents. in a dollar; and to be safe, always reckon by cents. The least piece is $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents., and has upon it two pillars with a crown between them; the next is $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents., next 25, then 50, then 1 dollar; and all these are Spanish coin, and bear the same impression. There are some 9 cents. pieces, and some 18, but these have no pillars on them. There are also Mexican coins, that look like dollars, but are $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents. short. The United States' coins are 10, 25, and 50 cents. and 1 dollar. As for bills, if you take any, mind and take United States Bills. Bring no sovereigns here; at New York they are worth 4 dollars and 75 cents.; and 4 dollars 80 cents., at the silversmith's facing the Exchange.

We think you had better come by New Orleans. Your baggage will be to shift from the ship to the steamboat, and then you run at once to Shawnee-town or Mount Vernon. If it be wet, don't come to Mount Vernon, as there are some muddy rivers to cross. If you come this way, by New Orleans, I mean, you will perhaps have to be nine weeks on the sea; but then you will have more room in the ship, and less trouble in shifting your things; and when you do shift them, mind and look if you have your number, for there were some people on the canal, through carelessness, lost two

boxes. It would be well to paint your name upon them, and number them. I dare say that by Orleans, if you mind at Liverpool, will be the cheapest way to come, and in the shortest time. To all this you may adhere, but come the way you please; if by Orleans, try if you can find a ship bound to Orleans, and endeavor to see the captain yourself, (but mind it is him,) and agree as low as you can; and mind that your births are made secure. All the way as we came we found our own provisions, and laid on our beds, and had a room to ourselves; this is the cheapest way. Ten of us paid perhaps twenty-five cents. for one night; this was on land. The iron oven I mentioned came from Birmingham. . . .

I wish my father to bring me a pair or two of fustian trowsers, and for winter wear some for themselves; they would not be amiss. Nothing but trowsers are worn. I have seen a waist-coat and a tradesman's fustian coat bought in at a sale for 8 dollars. I could have bought as good at Liverpool for little more than three dollars; for there is plenty of clothing of all sorts made up there. Bring with your blankets a web of fustian, and some plaided stuff for the females. I think I have mentioned all of that description you need care for. A mattress full of good hay seeds, carraway seeds, some marygold seeds, celery, both sorts of cabbage, brocoli, lettuce, carrots, radishes, cresses, mustard, some peas and beans of a good sort, some plum stones of a good kind, and various others; seek them under the trees, if you cannot get them without. John's father, if he pleases, will bring two or three pounds of turnip seeds, from Marris's, Hatfield. We want some camomile, and any other seeds you think proper; but be sure to bring all the seeds I have mentioned, knives, forks, as many dozens as you please, and any other kind of cutlery ware you may think of, for all sorts are very dear with us. Cotton balls, needles, tapes, laces, if you have a good lot. Bring Isabella and Eliza a small plain work-box; hide them with your raffled cotton, and if the custom-house officers want to put a duty upon them, you can easily tell them your business, and that they are your own things, and for your own use. Pins here are very bad. You two females should go to James Holmes, and get him to learn you to cut out. Bring some patterns for waistcoats; and some good sized iron wedges. Baskets are dear. Iron is about $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents. per lb. at Orleans, and will cost 1 or $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents. to bring it here, and then the store-keepers charge $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents. If you come by Orleans, bring one barrel of sugar, for it may generally be bought at $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents. per lb., and is the same price as iron, and the store-keepers charge $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents. Bring what other groceries you may think

proper; coffee is most used, and is here 20 cents. per lb. We would like you to bring some good pear pippins, Yorkshire green apples, and, if you can, some berry slips, black currants, and some good grafts; we would try to make them grow; if corked tight up in a bottle, I think they would do; sea air and water kills trees. I would like you to bring me a dozen or two of good gimblets and a spikes ditto or two, for I have bought too few. One day, a little time ago, a man came to me for a gimblet, which I bought in Liverpool for about 2d., and he sent in return, last Saturday, a dozen of eggs, and a pair of fowls; the pullet is just at laying. Young fowls I can buy at 1 dollar per dozen, about 6½ cents.¹⁸

Job Rigby and William Brunt came together, and on November 15, 1842, began the ascent of the Mississippi River at New Orleans on a steamboat that seemed to them so large as to suggest comparison with a moving city. When within three miles of Chester, the boat ran aground, and after remaining fast for two weeks the travelers left it and found hospitality in the home of one of the former settlers a few miles from the river. Job wrote the next May 13, of their adventures. He was a shoemaker, but found the business poor. While they got a room for 25 cents a week, his work commanded only "50 cents for making pegged shoes; and if bound 75 cents. They found all their own leather."

Job liked the people in the community. He wrote:

It is not here like it is in England; they do not respect a man from his dress, or external appearance. They look at his actions; and if he be an honest man he is respected. . . . There is plenty of wild game, such as wild deer, turkies, rabbits, geese, ducks and many other kinds. But I must tell you, America never was in a worse state than it is respecting money, at the present time. The people have property to sell, but cannot get money for it, so they trade with each other.¹⁹ Job has become a farmer, and he inventoried his seven hens and a cock and the prospect of thirty chickens in a few days.

¹⁸ *Potters' Examiner*, I: 182.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 63.

We have a sow and seven young pigs, which cost us a dollar—4s. 2d. We shall buy a cow very soon, as Eliza will soon be able to milk.

You wish to know the cheapest way to come after us. You must come by the Anderton Carrying Company to Liverpool, and along with the Latter-day Saints to New Orleans. It will cost £3 15s. per head—under fourteen years, half price. If you come you must land at Chester; it is about twenty miles from Chester to this place. Be very careful with your luggage. Bring with you some pots, viz., cups, twifflers, dishes, &c. You can get a dollar's worth of food or live stock for six printed twifflers, but no money for them; flesh 1d. per lb., flour, 12s. per 2 cwt., sugar 5 cents per lb. Get some prints to make some bonnets; some leather hemp, and thread. Direct for Job Rigby, Steel's Mill, Randolph County, Illinois.

Brunt found at Six Mile Prairie another young Englishman from Leeds, Yorkshire, named Hodgson, who helped him find a tract of "Congress land."²⁰ Then he and Rigby engaged three wagons, returned to the Mississippi River, hauled their baggage and household goods and Brunt's family to the "Prairie," and temporarily lodged both families in a two-room house. Squire Short, another hospitable settler, found a horse for Brunt and accompanied him on the twenty-six mile ride to the land office at Kaskaskia, where he entered 160 acres. He gave the following description:

It is partly wooded and partly Prairie. . . . I paid 200 dollars, about £41 5s. in English money. This is as good an estate as any in England of the same extent. I have now a hewed log house, 18 feet by 22, a large kitchen, a barn 18 by 24, but which is not roofed. My residence is named by the old farmer, "Mount Pleasant." I have about 20 acres cultivated in Indian corn, wheat, oats, and potatoes. Our stock consists of one prime yoke of oxen, three good horses, three good cows, and calves, one yearling calf, eleven hogs, one sow pig, twenty-two cocks and hens, fourteen chickens, a hive of bees, two canaries, two dogs, Captain and Winter, and three kittens; all of these, together with our family, in good health.

²⁰ *Potters' Examiner*, I: 56.

The neighbours here are chiefly Americans, and very kindly disposed. They are all true lovers of liberty! I will relate one instance. After having heard me, in conversation, describe the condition of the labouring population of Great Britain and Ireland, at a public meeting-house in the Prairie, a subject which would have been treason in England, was proposed for discussion, viz., "Who are the real producers of Wealth?" and "Would, or would not, the people of England be justified in rebelling against the Government?" . . .

Money is scarce, but the necessities of life abound. All kinds of provisions are very cheap. Clothing is generally dear. I advise any who come to bring their old clothes, and strong and stout for winter, and very light for summer. Stout blankets and the common kind of blue bed-covers. Bring a crate of ware, consisting of cups, saucers, twifflers, 6 and 4 inch muffins, coffee cans, half-pint mugs, a few 10 and 14 inch dishes, flats; let them be all good, printed seconds; china seconds as well, and they will sell. They must be the kind I have mentioned; viz.: cups, twifflers, and saucers, are the most in request. It would be well to bring the entry of them with you. Some double-bladed knives, but let them be good ones.

The best landing-place for this settlement, and the nearest, is Chester, Randolph County, Illinois. Thence there is a tolerably good road to, and but 25 miles from our house. This is considered the most healthy part in the county. We have game in abundance, from the squirrel to the deer, the partridge to the turkey. We have killed and eaten of them three times a day. We never sit down to food without pork, eggs, milk, coffee, butter, &c. &c. on table. In fact, an individual trained in America, and living under its laws, cannot starve! as they do in England. If an Englishman comes here, he will never go back. Poverty, and the fear of it, seems to be unknown here!

We are anxious to know how all old friends are. For ourselves, we unite in saying, God bless you every one! Jump off at Chester, and be sure to ask the Captain of the steamer to allow you to do so.

Direct—William Brunt, New Settler from England, Six Mile Prairie, Perry County, Illinois. To be left at Steel's Mill Post Office.

Thomas J. Filcher, an intelligent potter from Henley, settled at Nauvoo. On April 16, 1843, he wrote the *Examiner* in answer to inquiries of the preceding September, and gave considerable information concerning the

country: reason for sickness in the river bottoms, the climate, etc.

This Winter the Mississippi which is more than a Mile across, has been frozen over five weeks, so that teams could cross on the ice all the time; but this Winter has been the most severe one that has been known for many years.

With respect to the dipression in the monitary system of this country, I would just remark, that the amount of real specie in this country is almost as much as it has been for a [great] many years past. But during the time that the United States Bank was in vogue the Proprietors of that Bank issued a great amount of Paper Money, more than they had of real capital; many followed the example, and Banks soon became very numerous and money plentiful. This produced good times and increased the value of property; but the Proprietors of Banks became so notorious in the issuing of Paper Money, as to create a suspicion, in the minds of the people; demands were then made upon the Banks, which they could not meet; and the Banks went down. Thus property, which had been purchased when times were good, and money in plenty, became reduced in value, and those who had it in their possession suffered in consequence; and many of the Merchants became Bankrupts. Since I have been in this country four Banks have gone down in this state.

With respect to five or six individuals, such as you describe, coming to this country, it is my opinion, that it would be a good speculation, and you would meet with great encouragement. I know of neither clay, nor coals, in this immediate neighborhood. But at Centerville in Knox County, joining to Warren County, there is clay that makes Tobacco-pipes, and plenty of coals on the spot. Knox County is as healthful as Warren County, but the land is not considered so fertile.

If you come at all, I would not advise you to leave your family, as I feel confident that you would do well! With respect to what you should bring with you, what you have named would do very well. Remnants of calico and good second-hand clothes are good property here, and pay no duty on importation. If you could bring away some good seconds earthenware with your goods, you would do well; such as Twifflers; seven-inch Muffins; 24 Bowls; 12 and 24 Jugs; and 24 Mugs; these things fetch a high price, in this country, and sell well. Do not stay in any large town except you could get a situation to suit you, as your goods will not fetch so much as they will in small towns and in the country.²¹

²¹ *Potters' Examiner*, I: 79.

Filcher wrote again in the fall of 1843, to George Mart:

Sir,—I received a letter from my parents, on the 12th of October, containing your respects to me, with a request that I should send you a particular account of the state of this country, to which request I cheerfully respond. I am living in the city of Nauvoo, to which city numbers of people, from all parts of the United States, are gathering; many of whom, I have the opportunity of conversing with almost daily. This enables me to know something of the state not only of this State, but the United States.

The Americans, in general, are great people to speculate in all kinds of business. Many have established Banks, and issued a large amount of notes, when they have had a very small amount of real capital. Thus, when their Banks have been run on, they have been unable to cash their notes, and they have consequently gone down. This State of things has caused the money markets in this country to be very unstable; but, I rejoice to inform you that we do not depend upon a monied currency for subsistence, as you do in England. I have now been in this country near 12 months, and have a half of an acre of land in one of the principal streets of the city; a Brick-house upon it, 17 feet by 15; a good cow; 2 hogs; and 8 fowls; and have not yet received a dollar, in cash, for my labour. And notwithstanding Banks are breaking, and merchants failing, there is still a superabundance of the necessities of life which may be obtained for labour. Wheat is now selling for 1s. 6d. per bushel; Indian corn and oats are selling for 6d. per bushel; beef and pork is one penny per pound; potatoes from 6d. to 1 s. a bushel; a good cow from £2 10s. to £3 10s.; butter 6s. a pound; all food in proportion. Clothing is generally rather high, but every industrious man can obtain not only the necessities, but the comforts of life; and can breathe the pure and wholesome atmosphere of REPUBLICANISM. Since I have been here, I have had the pleasure of voting at a General, August Election, and I went in for Pure Democracy. We have now coming in office a Democratic Governour²² and Lieutenant Governour; and we have a majority of Democrats both in the House of Representatives and the Senate. In fact, this is a Democratic state, and six months residence constitutes a voter in it.

Perhaps you might have some idea that you shall, sooner or later leave the contest in which (according to my knowledge of

²² Gov. Thomas Ford.

you) you have been faithfully engaged, and come to this country. You have nobly and manfully stood forward to assist in striking the death-blow to the prosperity of tyrants; they have already staggered from the blow and ultimately must expire. But if they should be so long in dying, that you cannot wait to see them expire, you can leave Mr. John Richards to preach their Funeral Sermon, and Mr. Samuel Robinson to sound their Funeral Knell; and if you should leave Jeremiah Yates to be sexton tell him to see well to their interment, and put his seal upon their tomb, for fear there should be a resurrection from the dead. This being done, you may come to this country, place yourself in the midst of plenty, and enjoy, through life, those blessings you have so long contended for.

. . . If you come to this country . . . bring with you as much earthenware as you can; and there is a very great profit upon second-hand clothes a short distance from any large trading cities, and also gray calico and haberdashery. Bring as much of these goods as possible; situate yourself in a small town, where there is a good share of country business; get some live stock as soon as possible, and prepare for getting upon a farm. Do not be discouraged at the change of business; almost any body can farm in this country; and when you have gotten 20 acres of land of your own, fenced in and cultivated, you will be as independent as any of the great ones in England. It will not occupy half of your time; and will produce for you all you need; but be sure to get some Timber-land for fencing and firing. This being done, you can live in the enjoyment of every privilege vouchsafed to man by his Creator! You will not be compelled to support a constabulary force, nor the religion of State, by paying Church-rates against your will. Poor-rates, Magistrates' rates, and Church-rates will sink into eternal forgetfulness, as there are no Paupers, and no hired Magistrates nor Police wanted. You can choose what religion you like; and pay what you like for it! . . . I have lived in six different houses since I came in this country, and not any of them had any locks or bolts, to the doors. The Americans are not mean as to commit petty thefts, or to rob the poor. . . . I have known carpenters to commence a building, and scarcely ever collect their tools until the completion of the job. So much for American honesty! Before I conclude, I would say the disordered state of the currency has much affected the Mercantile Business of this country. There is, therefore, no certainty in anything else, but FARMING. Land is from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to 5 dollars an acre. Here you may find sweet employ and live a life of Peace and Joy!²³

²³ *Potters' Examiner*, I: 110.

Joshua Garside had lived four years at Canton when he decided that his observation of Illinois pioneer life would interest the readers of the *Manchester Examiner and Times*, his home paper, by means of which he and his neighbors kept in touch with events in England. Accordingly he set down many things that occurred to him, and incorporated them in two long letters dated July 29 and October 7, 1851, to the *Examiner and Times*.

The Great Exposition at Hyde Park was under way, and Garside enjoyed the description of the Crystal Palace and its contents; but he resented the patronizing tone of the English press concerning the modest contributions to the exposition sent over by Garside's new countrymen. Passing over that subject, he launched into an account of the new country:

Illinois—the beautiful, ever-prolific Illinois! Could I at this beautiful season of the year transport some of your readers from the streets of your smoky city, and place them on one of the wide, boundless prairies, stretching like a sea farther than the eye can reach; could I place them in a position where they could command a view of the rich, wide, extensive corn fields, the yellow fields of grain now ripening into harvest, and orchards with trees laden with fruit, what a sight would be presented to their bewildered imaginations! Illinois will eventually become the greatest fruit-raising country in the world. I will mention one instance, in order to give this statement additional weight. Messrs. Overmans, who own a nursery some four miles from this place, sold this spring some twenty thousand young fruit trees, and mostly all to the farmers of this county; and this is but a solitary instance. There are other nurseries in this and the adjoining counties that have done a more extensive business than this. Illinois is destined to become one of the richest and most powerful states in the union. Everything at present points that way. With a liberal state government, like the one we now have, nothing but mad speculation can prevent this state from becoming the granary of the world—she has within herself all the requisites for boundless wealth. Her minerals, such as coal, lead, and iron, are inexhaustible; bituminous coal is found within three

feet of the surface of the earth, and that too of a very good quality; her soil is rich and the climate is good, and the state, as it becomes more settled, becomes more healthy.

The magnificent grant of land made by congress to the state of Illinois, for the purpose of constructing a railroad through the centre of the state, has given a new impetus to business, and has been the means of causing a greater influx of emigrants from the eastern states than ever. The legislature, at the last session, consummated the contract for the construction of the railroad, with a company of eastern capitalists, and the undertaking is to be completed in four years. The length of the road will be some 600 miles; when the road is completed, and in full operation, the company pays to the state seven per cent of the nett proceeds. The stock has all been taken up, and the company for constructing the road take possession of the land granted by congress (which is a strip six miles wide, the full length of the road), as the road progresses. The road will commence at Chicago, at the head of Lake Michigan, and terminate at Cairo, on the Mississippi river. A strong body of surveyors are now in the field, and it is intended to push the work forward with all possible speed. It is a bold and noble enterprise; it will not cost the state anything; but will when in operation, be a fruitful source of revenue. The Illinois canal, which connects the waters of Lake Michigan with Illinois river, was completed in the summer of 1848. The traffic in that direction has now become immense; it has opened new sources and new avenues of trade with the Lakes and the Midland States. Something, however, appears to be wrong in the construction of this canal; so many breaks occurring, obstructing navigation in the best season of the year. Indeed, nearly all the public works in this country appear to be constructed in too great a hurry. There is a want of finish about them to which the eye of an Englishman is accustomed; but, of course, this must be attributed to the newness of the country, and the desire to go ahead in as quick time as possible.

The roads in this section of the state, owing to the rich alluvial soil, are, on the breaking-up of winter, and in very wet weather, almost impassable. To obviate this, plank roads are coming into general use, and good roads they are indeed. The cost of making a plank road—taking the cost of one now in course of construction from Canton to Liverpool on the Illinois river, about twelve miles long, and now nearly completed—is about 3,000 dollars (£200) [*sic*] a mile. The planks are laid across the road, on three rows of sleepers. The width of the plank road is about eight feet, and the earth is

thrown up at each end of the plank, and the road will, it is supposed, last some seven or eight years.

The legislature of this state at the last session, among other liberal acts, passed what is called the Homestead Exemption Law, allowing every citizen to hold property to the amount of one thousand dollars, to be exempt from execution for all debts contracted after the 4th July, 1851, on which day the law came in force. How this law will operate remains yet to be seen; it does not altogether meet the approbation of the merchants. A law similar to this has now been in operation for some time in New York, and one or two other eastern states, and seems to work well enough. There is one law just come in force which very forcibly reminds me of home, and that is the new cheap postage law. Taking into consideration the extent of the country, the enormous length of the mail routes, and the rather imperfect manner in which the postal arrangements are carried out, it is, I consider, a most liberal concession on the part of the American government. The mail system here has not yet arrived at that perfection which it has reached in England, but it is improving. There only now wants one thing to carry out this grand cheap postage scheme, first adopted by Great Britain, and the example now followed up by the United States—one link is wanting to make this noble scheme perfect—and that is, the *ocean* penny postage; I trust, ere long, to see it adopted; it will bind closer together the ties of brotherhood between the two greatest nations, speaking the same language! and it will strengthen the good feeling which now exists between England and the United States. One very important thing in this country is the system of telegraphic communication. This is carried on to a greater extent, and made more subservient to public convenience, than it is in England.

Respecting the political institutions of the country, I have but very little to say. The Americans have just and good reason to be proud of their country, and of that band of heroes whose names are imperishable on the pages of history, whose bravery and indomitable energy laid the foundation of this great republic. Could you but witness the enthusiasm which is manifested on each return of the nation's birthday—could you but witness the intense interest with which that bold declaration of independence is listened to, and behold the manifestations of joy and patriotism exhibited on the return of each succeeding 4th of July, you would almost wish yourself an American. They are justly proud of their Washington and of their country; a manly pride pervades each breast. I wish the work-

ing people of England knew a little more of this country than they do. Wofully ignorant are they of almost everything that relates to its history; particularly the history of the war of independence. Indeed many newspaper editors in England, and even members of parliament, when they attempt to describe anything relative to any particular state, make the most egregious blunders. Is it, therefore, to be wondered at that the humbler classes are so ignorant on the subject? But I hope a better day is coming. I trust that the taunts and sneering allusions made about the paupers of England, about the ignorance of the lower classes of English, about the crime and intemperance of England, will ere long be without foundation.

The system of public schools in this country is carried out admirably, but I am not so well acquainted with its organization and ramifications as to give you any particular description. It is a very rare occurrence to find among the Americans a man or woman who cannot read and write. The good effect of these public schools is visible in the intelligence of the people; it is visible in their everyday duties and business; and if the good effect of these public schools is so visible in the new settled state of Illinois, how must it be as regards Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and other eastern states, where the system has been long in full operation?

To those working men in England intending to emigrate to this country, particularly to those who intend purchasing land, I would just say a few words. *Do not by any means buy or contract for any land from any company, society, or agent in England, who pretends to offer great inducements and advantages to emigrants.* It is all humbug to say the least of it, if not downright imposition. Many a poor emigrant has been swindled out of his money by these land-sharks.²⁴ The Pottersville scheme in Wisconsin turns out to be a failure. Expectations are held out which it is impossible ever to realize. It only excites the *pity* and not a little contempt and derision of the American farmers to think that the English (who generally boast of being more than commonly shrewd) should be so easily seduced into such wild-goose schemes. If a person intending to emigrate has means sufficient to buy land, let him hold on to it; let him come out direct to the farming districts; let him hire himself out to some farmer for one or two years; and in the meantime be listening to all he hears, and he will have many opportunities for buying farms, as there are always some for sale. Don't be in a hurry. He will be sure to succeed in the end. But the idea of buying a piece of land as soon as he gets out (or in

²⁴ Systematic robbery of the emigrants landing from the ships that brought them across the ocean had become so notorious that societies were organized to furnish them protection against swindlers.

some cases before he starts) is preposterous; for if a person is unacquainted with the nature of the title of the land, he is very liable to be taken up on some bad title, and probably, before many years roll over, he will have his farm to buy over again. There are various kinds of titles, such as congress title, patent title, tax title, and some others. A residence among the farmers for about two years will make him acquainted with the nature of these titles, and then he can purchase accordingly. There are a good many English in this county, from the neighbourhood of Manchester, Hyde, Dukinfield, Oldham, and Stockport. Some follow farming who but a few years ago were cottonspinners, powerloom weavers, or dressers; and now most of them own pretty good farms of from 40 to 160 acres, and are doing very well. Others are engaged in mechanical pursuits; or whatever else they can get to do, for a person coming out here must not be particular in what or as to what he does. He must be able and willing to turn his hand to anything and everything, and then he will be sure to succeed. It is a very great change for a person to come from the cotton factory and to go on to a farm; the new kind of labour, the difference in food, mostly at first corn meal, or what is more properly called "pork and corn dodger," the entirely new mode of living, and the comparative loneliness which the transition from town to country brings upon them, often discourages many; and it is only by steady perseverance and a firm determination to overcome these difficulties, that he may expect to succeed in his new undertaking.

. . . The cholera is very prevalent in the western states. A number of deaths have taken place at St. Louis, Missouri. It has again appeared in this vicinity, and at the most of the towns on the Mississippi, Illinois, and Missouri rivers, but not in quite so epidemical a form as it did in 1840.²⁵

In his second letter, Garside rejoiced in the change of tone of some of the London newspapers towards Americans and their contributions to the "World's Fair." He declared:

The laughs and sneers have been turned into something like surprise at the "rugged utility" of the American contributions. McCormick's reaping machines, which are used by almost every farmer in this section of country, have made English farmers scratch their heads with wonderment and surprise, at the first display of its

²⁵ *Manchester Examiner and Times*, Aug. 30, 1851, Supplement, 2.

labour-saving power. Any quantity of orders are given on the first display of the superiority of American over English ploughs. Hobbs throws consternation into all who have hitherto trusted in the infallibility of Bramah's celebrated patent locks; and lastly, and by no means the least important, the yacht *America* throws down the gauntlet to the world, and carries away the palm. So much for the "rugged utilities of the Yankees." "John Bull Whipt again," has often been sung in my ears since the above facts became known here, and many are the jokes (all received in good humour) which have been cracked at my expense. It is pleasing and gratifying, however, to see the good results arising from these triumphs of American skill; it proves that the English are willing to take a few lessons even from their transatlantic brethren, and that we are not quite so stupid as some of the press in this country would fain represent us to be.

This has been a remarkable year for Illinois; it has been the stormiest season ever known by the oldest settlers. The Illinois river has overflowed its banks, causing the river in some places to be from four to six miles wide; and being a somewhat slow, sluggish stream, it does not get within its banks in a hurry. We have had storms and tornados in their most terrific force. You in England have no idea of the fury and strength of a storm in such a flat prairie country as Illinois. No mountains or hills to intercept its fury; houses turned over, fences prostrated; dreadful havoc indeed does it make sometimes. Some fifteen years ago a tornado passed over this place (Canton), destroying nearly every house in town, and killing many persons. Dry goods from the stores were found miles distant; the traces of its destructive course are yet visible in the form of tall, dead trees—the trunks still standing—with all the limbs twisted off—monuments, as it were, of this terrible hurricane. This is the greatest drawback I know of to this prairie country. Aside from this, a more desirable farming country than Illinois cannot be found on the surface of the globe.

The crowning glory of the seasons in this western climate comes on just about this season of the year; the almost insufferable heat and dust of mid-summer being past, that beautiful season known as the "Indian summer" comes to our relief; the white frost begins to touch the earth slightly; the leaves of the forest begin to assume their many and varied hues, so pleasing and so beautiful, adding a charm and splendour to the fall of the year; the days are warm—the nights cool—the skies blue and cloudless—and oh! what glorious sunsets! I have often read the eloquent and glowing descriptions

given by travellers of the magnificent sunsets of the classic lands of Italy and Greece. If they can at all compare with the beautiful evenings we enjoy here, when the sun retires in the west, they must indeed be glorious to look upon. This kind of weather continues until towards the middle of November, and then we bid farewell to it with feelings of regret, as its departure is the sure sign that stern winter with all its rigors will soon set in. Now is the time for sport and pigeon shooting—now is the time for lots of game, and that, too, for shooting, without the dread of being set down as poachers. Such a word as poaching is unknown here; it cannot be found in the American vocabulary. . . . Towards the beginning of December, when winter begins to spread its snowy mantle over the prairie, will be the time for wild geese and duck shooting in the river bottoms; then will be the time when the peculiar sharp ring of the rifle will startle many a deer from its covert—and then will be the time when we can buy (we who have no time to spare in shooting) a good haunch of venison for about forty cents, less than two shillings (this, I suppose, would be considered very cheap with you!); then we can have all kinds of game very cheap. The Illinois river abounds in the finest quality of fish of every kind. A person who loves to indulge in such field sports need never want for opportunity or occasion to supply his table with animal food, without much trouble. . . .

Emigrants coming out west, and more particularly those coming from the eastern states, seem to have an idea that everyone coming here is sure to have an attack of the fever and ague—that they are obliged to have a good shake before they get acclimated. When they arrive here they generally find that fever and ague are very bad a little "farther west." I have now been here over four years, and not yet have I seen one real case of fever and ague. I have often heard that it is somewhere in the neighbourhood. It is, I suppose, most prevalent on the river bottoms, particularly in such seasons of overflow as we have had this year. Such seasons as this bring on myriads and myriads of mosquitoes.

I have often remarked, that the eastern people have an idea that when they get out here they will find the residents a sort of half-barbarian, half Indian class of people; but they are greatly disappointed on finding that the residents in the west are just as smart, if not smarter, than themselves. . . .

The taxes here are light, comparatively speaking, to what you have to pay in England. Property is assessed at two-thirds its value, and yet I hear a good deal more grumbling by those who pay taxes

than ever I heard in England. I could not help but laugh the other day when the collector informed me, that of all those who paid taxes, he always found the English the most willing to pay, and that they grumbled the least. "I suppose," says he, "that you have been so used to being taxed in England, that it comes, like bread and butter, quite natural." I am indeed proud to say, that there is less cause of complaint made against the English for misconduct or unruliness than against any other class of emigrants. Many are the rows and disturbances created by the Irish with all around them, caused by too great a love and indulgence in the "dear craythur."

The Germans, or rather a portion of them, and Americans, in St. Louis and New Orleans, have got to loggerheads. It appears that some of the Germans have come to the determination to form a "Native German party," in order to enforce some of the doctrines of the democratic party. There is a great feeling of prejudice and aversion manifested by the Americans against the formation of any native party whatever. Look at the disastrous results arising from the collision of Irish and American native parties that took place in 1844, in the city of Philadelphia. Governor King, of Missouri, has administered a scorching rebuke to the Germans. It appears that a military company had been organized by the German party, when application was made to the governor for arms from the state arsenal.

Governor King²⁶ not only refused to supply them, but as a sort of sweetner to the bitter pill, administered the following home thrust, which I extract from his letter:—"I do not hesitate to inform you that I cannot send you the arms for that occasion, and I take the responsibility of saying further, that I shall not send them until I am satisfied there is a greater disposition evinced amongst those who are to use them, to observe the moral restraints imposed upon all good citizens; to say nothing of what I consider to be the absolute legal enactments upon the subject. I am one of those who have ever been willing to open wide the doors, for the reception of our foreign population, who have sought a home and an asylum in our happy country, yet when they come, I think it evinces a much better spirit on their part, to set about Americanising themselves, adapting their habits to our institutions, our moral, social, and law-abiding habits. As American citizens, our habits, our social, moral, and religious restraints, are based upon the principles handed down to us by the fathers of the revolution, and we profess to know more

²⁶ Austin A. King, a Democrat, became Governor of Missouri in 1848, and served until he was succeeded by Sterling Price in December, 1852.

of the influences which have served to elevate us as a people to a high rank among the nations of the earth, than it is possible for those foreigners to know who have just come among us."

Some of the Americans have often complained to me that so few of the regular stout English farmers come out to this country. They complain that too many come from the manufacturing districts. They want to see more come out from the agricultural districts of England. It is very rare that I come across an Englishman who follows farming here that followed the same occupation in England; they are generally from the manufacturing districts. However, the same system of farming in England would hardly pay here. We had about a year ago in this vicinity a first-rate specimen of an English farmer—a tall, stalwart, well-built man—his name was Thomas Critchlow, from the neighbourhood of Ashbourne, Derbyshire. He came out alone, a year ago last spring, for the purpose of choosing a location. During his stay, about six months, he gained the confidence and esteem of a good many influential farmers around here. He decided upon returning to England for the purpose of fetching his family. He left here last November for New Orleans, on his way home. On arriving there, and about three days before the ship sailed, he was seized with the cholera and died.

There are a good many able farmers in this country, whose kindness to new comers is worthy of the highest praise, and I think I cannot do better than mention a few names, among which are Elijah Capps, Esq., D. Vittam, Esq., and S. C. Nelson, Esq., Messrs. Overmans, Messrs. Ingersolls, merchants, and a good many others.

My opinion has often been requested as to which of the two ports, New York or New Orleans, I would recommend emigrants to embark for. I would say New York all the time, as I consider that emigrants coming from Great Britain come from too northern a latitude to land in New Orleans with anything like security from sickness; and a sick person has a poor chance of recovery on board the over-crowded steamboats. Too often, alas! does many a poor emigrant, after escaping the perils of a sea voyage, find his grave on the banks of the Mississippi River. I consider it healthier to land at New York by all means. I may, however, revert to the subject again some future time; want of space will not allow more at present.—I remain, sir, your obedient servant.²⁷

²⁷ *Manchester Examiner and Times*, Nov. 22, 1851, Sup., 40.

CANTON COLLEGE

An Early Attempt at Higher Education in Illinois

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION BY MILDRED EVERSOLE

IN the files of the Illinois State Historical Library are two letters of 1836 and 1838, one written by a Trustee of Canton College, established in Fulton County, Illinois in 1836, and the other by a Professor at that school. Canton was one of the numerous small colleges founded during the early days of Illinois' statehood. Some few of these institutions have been in continuous operation for a hundred years or more, but the majority survived for only a short period. Canton was one of the latter. It began enrolling students in the spring of 1836 (the act for incorporation went into effect on February 28, 1837) and it was discontinued in July, 1843.

The village of Canton, in which it was located, was laid out on December 10, 1825, and was incorporated as a town on February 10, 1837. Provision for an elementary school was made very early in the history of the village. Within ten years after its founding, plans for this undenominational college were also being formulated. The Reverend Romulus Barnes and Nathan Jones donated the ground upon which the building for the academy and college was to be erected. These two men also presented lots in the "Barnes and Jones Addition," receipts from the sale of which were to be used for operating expenses of the school.

On the area known as College Square a brick building—part of it three stories high—was erected in 1836, but it was never entirely finished. Starting out as an academy, the new school soon began to offer college training. The first Board of Trustees included the following persons: Joel Wright, Isaiah Stillman, Thomas D. Lord, Samuel G. Wright, L. W. Curtis, Nathan Jones, Peter Westerfield and Joseph Cone. The first letter printed below was written by one of these men, Joel Wright. He was born in Hanover, New Hampshire in 1792 and had moved to Illinois in 1818, settling first at Edwardsville. He soon afterwards moved to Montgomery County, later to Galena and finally to Fulton County in 1828. He became a merchant in Canton in 1830. In the same year, also, he was elected to the Illinois Senate. He became postmaster of Canton in 1832 and held that position for many years. He was a trustee of the town of Canton when it was incorporated in 1837. In the same year he was appointed one of the commissioners of internal improvements in Illinois. In the interests of Canton College, Wright wrote to his brother in 1836 for assistance in obtaining a loan for that institution. It is that letter which is quoted below.

According to the circular issued by the Trustees on April 12, 1836, the first term of the Academy was to begin "on the third Monday of April, under the superintendence of Mr. James P. Stewart,—a gentleman highly recommended from the Illinois College." There was a succession of superintendents, principals and professors, among the latter Wright Dewey, author of the second letter printed below. He arrived in September, 1837, and probably left soon after this letter was written (June, 1838). William N. Stimpson and Claudius Web-

ster also taught for short periods early in the history of the College. Reuben S. Kendall, Fritz O. Campbell and Austin J. Barker taught in the closing years of the College's existence.

The only person ever given the title of president was the Reverend Gideon B. Perry. At the same time that he held this position he was also a minister in the Baptist Church and a practicing physician. Perry moved from Hopkinton, Rhode Island to Canton early in 1838, where he became the first regular pastor of the First Baptist Church. Perry's duties as a minister and physician required so much of his time that he did very little actual teaching at the College. During the first few months of his residence in Canton he was also editor of the *Canton Herald*, but he withdrew from this position in October, 1838. His pastorate continued until October, 1841, when he resigned to accept a call from the Baptist Church at Alton, Illinois, but it is uncertain whether or not he continued as president of Canton College until that date.¹ Ralph Perry, not related to the Reverend Dr. Perry, was principal of the College from June, 1839 to June, 1841.

One of the features of Canton College was a "Female Department." Plans for this field of activity were announced as follows:

A Female teacher and other assistants will be employed, when the condition of the school may require; and instruction will be furnished in the various branches of a literary, scientific and polite education. The design of the Institution is to offer the best facilities for a good education to youth of both sexes, not only as being con-

¹ Early in the period of his presidency, Perry seems to have been negotiating for another college position. According to two letters he wrote to Col. John Taylor of Petersburg, Ill., dated Feb. 5 and 19, 1838, he was willing to donate 150 lots toward a college to be located at Petersburg, but such an institution was never established. The original letters are in the Land Record vault, State Auditor's Office, Springfield, Ill.

venient, but because it is believed that, under proper regulations, they will exert a happy influence, in correcting the morals and refining the manners of each other.

The awarding of advanced degrees was also included in the plans for Canton College. According to the act of incorporation: "As the ability of the said corporation shall increase, and they deem proper. . . [the] trustees shall have power to institute and confer the degrees of doctor in science and in the learned arts, and belle lettres."²

The following schedule indicates cost of tuition and extent of the curriculum offered when the Academy opened in 1836.

PRICE OF TUITION

For Orthography, Reading and Writing, per quarter	\$2.50
For English Grammar, Mental and Written Arithmetic, English Composition, Ancient and Modern Geography, the use of Maps and Globes, and History	3.00
For Algebra, Geometry, Book Keeping, Natural Philosophy, Surveying, Chemistry, Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, Political Economy, Astronomy, Natural Theology, and the Latin and Greek Classics	4.00
Board may be had in the village at from \$1.50 to 2.00 per week.	

Little information is available on the number of students who attended Canton College. The enrollment was small, though, as evidenced by the letter of Dewey quoted below. The continual changes in faculty personnel indicate that the school did not operate under favorable conditions. The existence of several successful colleges—such as Illinois College at Jacksonville—within a reasonable distance, probably hindered its growth. Moreover, the unfinished building and the lack of equipment were a great handicap to the new school. The

² *Private Laws of Illinois, 1837*, p. 137.

"Library, Maps and Globes, together with a suitable Chemical and Philosophical Apparatus" promised by the Trustees in 1836 were apparently entirely inadequate.

In spite of all its difficulties, however, Canton College continued to function until a violent windstorm struck it in July, 1843. A large part of the upper stories was demolished on this occasion and no attempt was afterwards made to rebuild or to continue operation of the school elsewhere. College Square and the unsold lots in the Barnes and Jones Addition were deeded by the original donors, Romulus Barnes and Nathan Jones, to the Trustees of the College on January 23, 1845 and June 11, 1847. They in turn conveyed the property to Joel Wright who had paid the claims of all the other stockholders. Wright sold College Square to Thompson Maple and he had the remains of the building razed, thus bringing to a close the history of Canton College.

The letters which follow give a firsthand account of conditions which existed during the early years of Canton College. They were both addressed to Nathaniel Wright, Cincinnati, Ohio. A few sentences have been omitted (indicated by ellipses) because they did not relate to the subject of this article. Otherwise, the letters are printed here exactly as they appear in the original, without any changes in spelling or punctuation.

CANTON
13 Aug 1836

DEAR BROTHER

I forget whether I have ever sent you our circular. The school has been in successful operation since the time stated and has increased to 60 or 70 scholars. We are now obliged to erect a building for the School. We have about \$1,000 subscribed in this village & expect to

get 6 or 800 more in the neighborhood but we want a building that will cost 3,000. We have encouragement of assistance from the East but not in time to answer the purpose for this building. Under these circumstances the Trustees have agreed to promise a loan of \$1,000 for from one to 4 years, as can be had on the best terms, for which they will be individually responsible. The principal object of this is to ask if such a loan can be had in your city, & if you will assist us in getting it. We want the money as soon as possible. Every dollar in this country is invested in lands. We can give ample security.

It has been proposed to get 3 or \$4,000 if it can be had for 3 or 4 years at a moderate per cent & invest in lands here, all that is not wanted for immediate use, so as to make a speculation for the institution.

Will you give me an answer on this subject as soon as convenient?
We are all well. . . .

Your brother

J. WRIGHT

CANTON, ILL.

13t June [1838]

DEAR SIR,

Permit me, in a case of some perplexity, to apply to you for counsel.

You have probably seen some notices of Canton College, that have been put forth from time to time, &, if you have given them full credit as bona fide statements, you are doubtless pleased that your friends here have aided in establishing an institution so prosperous, & that I have a station so promising in usefulness & respectability.

The statements are much overdrawn. There is a brick building, partly two, partly 3 stories high, called the College. No room in it is finished, no one half finished. I occupy for a school room, one which has a single floor laid, & desks for students. All around are bare rough brick walls. Over head loose boards in the manner of a barn scaffold. The plan of the building contemplates one large school room, one smaller do, one lecture room, perhaps for medical purposes, & several, say six, or eight, small rooms for students. The school for ladies, termed in publishing phrase "The Female Department of Canton College," is now instructed in a small room, in a condition like my own. When the advertisement for it was first published it was confined to an apartment over the *bar room* of a small tavern. It numbers about 15 pupils. You will observe in the adver-

tisement for the same, that among other things "The French & Oriental Languages" will be taught. Mr. Perry³ added that clause, & it seems he meant by it, that if students enough applied to warrant it, arrangements would be made to instruct in French, & perhaps in some other modern European language, for as yet, there is no one in Canton who would undertake to teach even the French. So much for the "Oriental Languages." Shades of Lowth, Beatty, & the mighty Germans! What a learned use of language!—

My predecessor had in all 15 scholars. Nearly half of these were misses, or young ladies. The famous Female Department cuts off the latter from my sphere. I found three young men in town who wished to study Latin. A fourth came soon. The school room was too cold to occupy. I therefore heard in private such as wished to recite. Two usually recited daily. Thus things continued until April 2d. Then the frog pond between the village & school house had dried up, & it was so warm, that, with a big stove, we could be comfortable in the school room. The school was opened with five scholars. One quarter of 11 weeks has expired. I have had in all 15—average from first to last about 10. There are five other schools here. One is taught by a citizen well known, & valued as a teacher.

Soon after I came here I learned that few, if any, in this, or the neighbouring towns, had any confidence in the institution. They generally thought my connexion with it would be short. My course has been exactly opposite to Mr. Perry's. On his first introduction to the people, he, as they say, fired his heavy guns at once, & he can fire a few pretty heavy ones. I fired none but small arms, & those only at rabbits, quails, ducks, & squirrels. I saw that there had been too much puffing & blowing, & for my own part calmly sat down to the simple, single business of teaching.

At first, I believe the people thought me a ninny. Bye & bye they seemed to find out, that a man might know something & yet not proclaim it in the social circle, at the bed side of the sick, in public meetings, in the newspapers or even the pulpit.

I am entirely satisfied with the impression I have made. All now in the schools wish to continue, & I understand many others talk of coming next quarter. Six study the Languages. None are advanced beyond the introductory books. And yet Mr. Perry will call it a college & persists in opening next Sept. with a class of Freshman, & others if he can get them. Yet he knows not of an individual who will surely come here from other Preparatory schools. He wishes, & maneuvers to get sophomores, juniors, & even Seniors from other

³ The Rev. Gideon B. Perry, president.

Colleges, & expects one man to have all the responsibility of their substantial instruction, together with the care & teaching of the Preparatory & English Department. He might perhaps lecture on Rhetoric, & Intellectual & Moral Philosophy. He even talks of Departments for Medicine, Law, & Divinity. All this he proposes, even though no funds to any considerable amount have been raised for the institution. The Trustees own lots enough, it is thought, to complete the building & have the value of \$2,000. They have no apparatus. As to the "choice Library, selected expressly for the Institution," it is not worth \$50 and any man, who would bring from Philadelphia such a set of books for a College, is scarcely fit for committee man in a district school. Mr. Perry, wherever known, is noted above all men for vanity & bragadocio. He of all men colors most highly & most needs your projected work on Truth. He is a man of considerable genius, ready conversational powers, quick wit, tact, & uncommon offhand eloquence. The latter power is what captivated the citizens of Canton. People are sceptical as to his literary & scientific attainments. To these qualities he adds a strong desire to carry everything in his own way, & one would suppose, to hear him talk, that he would not turn aside for the world in arms. I find, however, that a steady, quiet, unpretending course, in opposition to his measures, annoys him excessively, & seems almost to nonplus him. He studied in Hamilton College, New York, during its infancy—(I do not know whether it is yet an adult). His views of a College are very wide from mine, & must have been formed on a very different model. If I desired a mere name, so far as he could give it, I could not be more favourably situated. I have been elected "Professor of the Learned Languages" in the College (what a burlesque on titles). The President offered me the degree of A.M. at once, & urged my acceptance, on the ground that it would be for the credit of the Institution, & if I would not like to receive it from Canton Coll. he said he would procure one from some other. I told him I thought, even if a young man aspired to honorable titles, three years of hard study after receiving the first, little enough to entitle him to the second degree in the Arts & Sciences. He not only accepted, but almost begged the degree of LL.D. from the Trustees of Canton College, not one of whom has a College Diploma, or pretends to a classical education; & he is as fond of the title, & uses it as much as if it were the free will offering of Oxford, Cambridge, or Göttingen. People of any intelligence know these things, & appreciate him accordingly. The College is a hissing & a bye word, as a College, & it deserves to be. The paper which the

President edits is in little better repute.

I have written thus freely, & fully, not in a very consecutive manner, I know, & probably not without betraying a certain bias, which I sometimes fear rests in my mental constitution, or habits, to magnify, or minify according to my feelings. I have freely spoken in the same strain to Samuel, to Dr. Curtiss,⁴ & the minister here, to Mr. Perry even, & last not least to your excellent brother;⁵ in whom I find a most valuable friend. They all, with of course one exception, agree with me in the main, & sometimes wonder that things are so, & almost, some of them quite, wish Perry away.

But again they hope something from him in the way of raising funds. He was appointed chiefly for that purpose, but as yet he has not got the first Picayune. Matters move along still, he talks of complying with the request of the Trustees, & make an effort soon. His tact keeps them from making known fully their sentiments & fears. Samuel spoke out once plainly, & in a speech an hour long set forth in a Trustee meeting the existing errors. That operated as a partial check, but the fundamental evils, I fear, still exist in Perry & can never be cured. I look upon him as a kind of monomaniac, a vanity stricken man, whom I never wish to meet.

Now I can leave after one more quarter of eleven weeks, & at the approach of the cool season go further south. I think I can leave the school prosperous as an Academy; as a College it must be contemptible. I can stay out the year, but Spring would not be a good time for me to engage elsewhere, nor for the Trustees to fill the vacancy. I *could* stay, & bear with these unpleasant things, although I could not conscientiously sustain the course of Mr. Perry. It is even now known that [*MS torn*] differ essentially in our views, [*MS torn*] though I believe this fact operates in favour of my School, it will not [*do*] for an honorable Faculty to be thus divided. I *could* stay 3 years on a salary of \$500.—I should have to stay so long with no greater salary—for it is expensive living here, & then resume my studies. To which course, or to what other course would you advise me? I shall not make up my mind until I hear from you, yet it is desirable to determine as early as possible.

I have read the above to Samuel. He says it is a correct statement. . . .

I am aware, Dear Uncle, that so long a letter may be troublesome to you, but you will excuse it, I hope, since I wished to tell the whole story.

⁴ L. W. Curtis, trustee.

⁵ Joel Wright, trustee.

Lest you should think me disappointed in the country & so like to be dissatisfied, I will say that it seems to me almost an Eden. It is surely a splendid country.

With kind remembrances, & much affection for yourself & all your family,

I am yours,

N. W. DEWEY.

N. WRIGHT, ESQ.
CINCINNATI.

LINCOLN WAS TOUGH ON OFFICERS*

BY DON RUSSELL

MUCH has been made of Lincoln's leniency toward enlisted men of the Army who were sentenced to death by courts-martial for desertion, cowardice, sleeping on post and other military crimes. Many are the stories of a mother, a wife, or a child pleading for mercy in such cases, and the theme is a familiar one in motion pictures. But Carl Sandburg has pointed out that "being saved from a firing squad by a President's pardon did not win a life of ease and a bed of roses. More often it meant iron bars, prison fare, close confinement, hard labor, the ball and chain."¹ And just how tough Lincoln could be on officers who faltered by the wayside has received little emphasis.

There was Private Martin Finley, who did "raise an axe to strike his superior officer . . . and said he would cut his head off, or words to that effect,"² but Lincoln decided that "the record of the Court is fatally defective in not showing that two-thirds of the members concurred in the sentence. The sentence is therefore inoperative, and Private Finley will be restored to duty."³ Then there was Private John Young, alias Alexander R. Shambro, convicted as a bounty jumper, and freed "on

* This article is expanded from an article that appeared in the *Chicago Daily News*, Feb. 10, 1940.

¹ *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years*, III: 522.

² General Order No. 204, War Department, Adjutant General's Office, July 2, 1863. Hereafter all General Orders are abbreviated as "G. O." All dates are 1863.

³ G. O. 204, July 2.

account of irregularities in the record."⁴ And so with many others.

Of 140 death sentences handed down by general courts-martial between July 1 and December 28, 1863⁵ only 14 were approved. Of these, 5 were guerrillas, one being also found guilty of murder, another of highway robbery and horse stealing, and the others of marauding, robbery and so on.⁶ One was for murder,⁷ one for murder and desertion,⁸ one for highway robbery with assault and intent to commit murder,⁹ and one for assault with intent to kill.¹⁰ Five were for the military offense of desertion, of which one deserted to the enemy,¹¹ another attempted to desert to the enemy,¹² one "did shamefully abandon his 'colors' in the face of the enemy,"¹³ at Fredericksburg, and two took with them their horses, arms and equipment.

Ten spies were sentenced to be hanged, and ten spies escaped death by executive order for one reason or another, becoming prisoners of war. Sixteen civilians accused of various military offenses—violating oaths of allegiance, aiding the enemy, and so on—won reprieves.

General Order No. 233, dated July 25, 1863, released from arrest and returned to duty thirty-nine enlisted men tried by courts-martial because the record did not show "that the Judge Advocate was sworn."

But officers were not so fortunate in escaping penal-

⁴ G. O. 232, July 23.

⁵ The period examined is an arbitrary one, selected by chance and for convenience.

⁶ G. O. 267, Aug. 3; G. O. 380, Nov. 24; G. O. 306, Sept. 13; G. O. 382, Nov. 28 (two cases).

⁷ G. O. 377, Nov. 21.

⁸ G. O. 279, Aug. 8.

⁹ G. O. 256, Aug. 1.

¹⁰ G. O. 293, Aug. 22.

¹¹ G. O. 269, Aug. 4.

¹² G. O. 372, Nov. 20.

¹³ G. O. 243, July 28.

ties through technicalities. Lieutenant John W. Stiles was sentenced to be cashiered for drunkenness, but the sentence was disapproved by the commanding general. The President's order stated that he did not concur and Lieutenant Stiles was dismissed from the service.¹⁴ Lieutenant W. C. Wick, accused of signing a false muster and pay roll, was convicted, but the commanding general neglected to approve the sentence, making it inoperative. Nevertheless Wick was dismissed.¹⁵ So with another officer who "did appear in the presence of said Regiment and Company in a beastly state of intoxication." The sentence was not properly certified, but that did not save him from dismissal.¹⁶ The swearing of the judge advocate did not save from dismissal a Missouri captain who left some forage in a camp "which afterward was taken away by a private person, and was not seen any more in the battery."¹⁷ The officer ordering a court in the case of a Kentucky lieutenant was not empowered to institute a general court-martial, and the proceedings were set aside, but the lieutenant, who had gone to arrest absentees and himself remained absent from his company five months, was dismissed.¹⁸

On occasion, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton intervened and laid down the law with a heavy hand, as in the case of H. B. Cashell, a citizen of the State of Maryland, who was accused of aiding the enemy by giving information, for which the court affixed no penalty beyond an admonition that, "in future he shall be more on his guard in answering inquiries addressed to him by an enemy."¹⁹ Stanton reviewed the evidence and

¹⁴ G. O. 209, July 7.

¹⁵ G. O. 256, Aug. 1.

¹⁶ G. O. 261, Aug. 1.

¹⁷ G. O. 270, Aug. 4.

¹⁸ G. O. 299, Sept. 5.

¹⁹ G. O. 250, July 30.

declared that "for such action by a Military Court, in presence of such flagrant crime, there is believed to be no precedent."²⁰ He ordered the accused person turned over to the civil authorities and the court-martial dissolved.

Similar strong action was taken in the case of Colonel James Belger, who was charged with "neglect and violation of duty, to the prejudice of good order and military discipline" under thirteen specifications relating to his leasing ships "through one Amasa C. Hall, a man not in the employ of the United States Government, with intent to favor said Amasa C. Hall, and to enable him, the said Hall, to make, at the expense of the United States Government, five per cent. commissions . . . thereby grossly and fraudulently wasting and squandering the public funds."²¹ Belger was found not guilty on all counts, but Secretary Stanton reviewed the evidence, decided that he was guilty, and ordered him dishonorably dismissed.

Such are the cases reviewed for the last half of 1863. Of 59 officers found guilty of various offenses, 14 were given more severe penalties than had been determined by the general courts-martial, 18 sentences were approved, and 27 were commuted to a lighter punishment—in many cases the difference was from cashiering to dismissal, merely one of degree of disgrace—or were restored to duty. Among the sentences approved was that dismissing from the service Brigadier General Joseph W. Revere for misbehavior before the enemy at Chancellorsville.²²

In this period only one officer was sentenced to death,

²⁰ G. O. 250, July 30.

²¹ G. O. 385, Nov. 30.

²² G. O. 282, Aug. 11.

and he on a charge of murder. "In consideration of all the circumstances of the case," which circumstances are not made clear in the general order,²³ and "the gallant conduct of the accused, while a prisoner, in the recent battles at Gettysburg, and, upon the recommendation to executive clemency by the Major General commanding the Army of the Potomac," the President was pleased to pardon this Pennsylvania captain and restore him to duty.

The impression that Lincoln turned technicalities of the law to the advantage of enlisted men and against officers is too apparent, even in this limited survey, to be ignored. It is of course evident that advantage was taken of every technicality to save a man from the death sentence, but on a striking number of occasions the decision was accompanied by a restoration to duty, with no punishment at all being imposed. And in many cases the same technicalities were applied to the advantage of enlisted men where the death penalty was not imposed. In the cases of spies there seems apparent an effort to seek some excuse for avoiding the death penalty and commuting the sentence to imprisonment as prisoners of war.

The sentences imposed on officers were in many cases no more severe than cashiering or dismissal, and many of these were approved or slightly modified. But in numerous cases where technicalities voided the court-martial findings, it was apparent that the officer was guilty of an offense that made him undesirable in the Army. In most of these cases the officer was dismissed.

²³ G. O. 311, Sept. 14.

THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

EARLY SOCIETIES

THE organization of the Illinois State Historical Society in 1899 brought into existence the first enduring state historical society in Illinois. The pioneer citizens of Illinois, however, had realized the value of such an organization, for the first effort to found a state historical society was made in 1827. In that year—only nine years after Illinois was admitted into the Union—a number of the state's most prominent citizens met at Vandalia to organize the first Illinois historical society. James Hall, well-known jurist and author of *Vandalia*, was chosen president of that organization and Henry Eddy, lawyer and editor of *Shawneetown*, became its secretary. Included in the list of members were some of the state's most distinguished men: David J. Baker, Sidney Breese, Peter Cartwright, Edward Coles, Ninian Edwards, William L. D. Ewing, Samuel D. Lockwood, John Mason Peck, John Reynolds, John Russell, Theophilus W. Smith, William Wilson and Richard M. Young. Several meetings of the society were held at Vandalia, but because the members lacked both the time and money required for traveling to these sessions the organization was not able to continue long.

However, the early citizens of Illinois soon made another effort to preserve the history of their state in permanent form. In 1837 a meeting was again held at Vandalia for that purpose. Judge Samuel D. Lockwood was elected president of that group and Walter B. Scates was

chosen secretary. According to a committee report made by Thomas Ford, this society intended to publish a complete history of Illinois from its discovery to date. John M. Peck, the man largely responsible for the founding of Rock Spring Seminary, was appointed chief historian and he was to be aided by a group of assistants who were to supply data from all parts of the state. Students of Illinois history will find the roll of Peck's co-workers a list of familiar names. It included: Sidney Breese, Nathaniel Pope, William Brown, James Lemen, William Kinney, Samuel McRoberts, Samuel D. Lockwood, Zadoc Casey, Thomas Ford, Cyrus Edwards, John Reynolds, John Russell, John Hay, Richard M. Young, Pierre Menard, John Kinzie, William Thomas and Gideon Blackburn. But this society, lacking both public and private financial support, also failed to survive and the projected history was never written.

In July, 1843, another state historical society was formed for the purpose of "collecting, preserving and diffusing information relating to the history of Illinois in particular, and of American history generally." The organization meeting took place at Upper Alton. On February 11, 1847, an act of the Illinois General Assembly incorporating this group—known as the "Illinois Literary and Historical Society"—was approved. The officers were Cyrus Edwards, president, Sidney Breese, J. B. Turner, William T. Brown, Jesse B. Thomas and J. W. Browning, vice-presidents, and Adiel Sherwood, J. M. Peck and M. G. Atwood, secretaries. This organization did not last long either and no more efforts to form a state historical society are on record until the present Society was founded in 1899.

THE PRESENT SOCIETY

In 1889 the Illinois General Assembly had passed a bill creating a State Historical Library. The meeting of 1899 at which the Illinois State Historical Society was organized was the result of a call signed by Trustees of that Library. Assembling at the University of Illinois in Urbana on May 19, the group elected Hiram Beckwith, lawyer and author of Danville, temporary president and Evarts B. Greene, professor of history at the University of Illinois, temporary secretary. The first annual meeting was held in January, 1900 at Peoria and the temporary officers were elected president and secretary respectively. On May 23, 1900 the Society was chartered by the State of Illinois as a not-for-profit organization.

During the first three years of its existence the new Society was supported entirely by dues contributed by its members, but it soon became apparent that little could be accomplished with the small amount thus provided. By the provisions of an act approved on May 6, 1903, therefore, the Society was officially connected with the Illinois State Historical Library, and the Trustees of the latter institution were authorized to defray incidental expenses of the Society from Library funds. Since that time, then, the Illinois State Historical Society has been a quasi-public organization, supported in part from membership fees and in part from state appropriations.

The Illinois State Historical Society is governed by a Board of Trustees elected by members at the annual meeting in May, to serve a three-year term. The Directors elect the Officers of the Society—President, Vice-

Presidents, and a Secretary-Treasurer. During the more than forty years of its existence a number of the most prominent citizens of Illinois have served as President of the Society: Hiram W. Beckwith, Danville, 1899-1902; J. F. Snyder, Virginia, 1903-1904; Alfred Orendorff, Springfield, 1905-1909; Clark E. Carr, Galesburg, 1910-1912 and honorary President, 1913-1918; Otto L. Schmidt, Chicago, 1913-1934; James A. James, Evanston, 1935-1939; Clint Clay Tilton, Danville, 1940-1941; and John H. Hauberg, Rock Island, 1941-

ACTIVITIES

The publications issued by the Illinois State Historical Society represent the principal activity of the organization. These include the *Papers in Illinois History*, published annually, and the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, issued quarterly, as well as occasional booklets on special subjects. In the annual publication, formerly called *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, are usually included the papers read at the annual meeting of the Society, the official reports of the Officers of the Society and at least one extended contribution to Illinois history. The first volume was issued in 1900 and it has appeared annually since that time. In 1937 the title was changed to *Papers in Illinois History*. The first number of the *Journal*, a quarterly magazine of Illinois history, appeared in April, 1908, and it has been published regularly ever since. In each issue are included a number of original historical articles, brief excerpts from early Illinois newspapers, books, etc., short accounts of new historical publications, and news items regarding events of current interest to Illinoisans. Nu-

merous short items concerning the activities of local historical societies are also included. Both the *Papers* and *Journal* are illustrated.

Other publications of the Society have included Theodore C. Pease and Marguerite Jenison Pease, *George Rogers Clark and the Revolution in Illinois*, published jointly by the Illinois State Historical Society and the Illinois State Historical Library in 1929, and Paul M. Angle, compiler, *Readings in Illinois History*, which appeared in 1935.

Each year the Illinois State Historical Society holds an annual meeting in May, in various cities of the state. On this occasion a number of papers on historical subjects are read and tours to nearby points of interest are arranged. Several social functions are generally scheduled, among them the annual dinner. During this meeting, also, the election of Directors and Officers is held and other business of the Society is transacted.

In addition to the annual meeting, an Illinois Day Meeting is held on or about December 3 every year in Springfield, at which time a formal address is presented. This occasion commemorates the date—December 3, 1818—on which Illinois was admitted to the Union.

The Society also participates in other activities designed to stimulate an interest in Illinois history. It co-operates with the State Division of Highways in erecting historical markers. It has also taken an active part in the acquisition of state parks and in directing the attention of the public toward these recreational centers. In addition, the Officers of the Illinois State Historical Society assist in the formation of county and other local historical societies and in various ways aid these associations located in all parts of the state. In

general, it may be said that the Illinois State Historical Society gladly participates in any activity which is within the purview of its charter.

PURPOSE

The objects of the Illinois State Historical Society are "to arouse and stimulate a general interest in the history of Illinois; to disseminate the story of the State as widely as possible; to encourage historical research and secure its promulgation; and to collect and preserve all data relating to the history of Illinois and its peoples."

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 Hauberg, John H. Rock Island, Ill.
 Hauberg, Mrs. John H. Rock Island, Ill.
 Haviland, Ferne Danville, Ill.
 Hawkins, John J. Nashville, Ill.
 Hawkins, Richard W.
 Highland Park, Ill.
 Hawks, J. K. P. Bloomington, Ill.
 Hay, Logan Springfield, Ill.
 Hayden, Arthur L.
 Wellesley Hills, Mass.
 Haynes, Mrs. Clara M. W. Geneseo, Ill.
 Hays, Roy Detroit, Mich.
 Hayter, Earl W. DeKalb, Ill.
 Hayworth, Oscar Chase Winnetka, Ill.
 Hazard, S. Robert Chicago, Ill.
 Hazen, David W. Portland, Ore.
 Heagy, Morris S. Rock Island, Ill.
 Heckman, John Polo, Ill.
 Hedberg, Eric E. Chicago, Ill.
 Heide, B. H. Chicago, Ill.
 Heidler, Samuel H. Springfield, Ill.
 Heinl, Frank J. Jacksonville, Ill.
 Hemminger, Art Springfield, Ill.
 Hendee, Robert W.
 Colorado Springs, Colo.
 Hendrickson, Walter B. Jacksonville, Ill.
 Hennan, Clarence William Chicago, Ill.
 Henry, Hez G. Camp Point, Ill.
 Henson, Winifred West Frankfort, Ill.
 Herdman, John N. Monmouth, Ill.
 Herman, Marie Springfield, Ill.
 Hershenson, Harry G. Chicago, Ill.
 Hewes, E. C. Danville, Ill.
 Hibben, George Chicago, Ill.
 Hieronymus, Robert E. Urbana, Ill.
 Higgins, Lawrence A. Chicago, Ill.
 Higley, Adelbert P. Cleveland, Ohio
 Hildner, Ernest G., Jr. Jacksonville, Ill.
 Hildreth, Mrs. C. F. Freeport, Ill.
 Hill, C. J. Des Plaines, Ill.
 Hillebrecht, Herbert E. Chicago, Ill.
 Hillmer, H. A. Freeport, Ill.
 Hinchliff, Mrs. Harriet E.
 Rockford, Ill.
 Hinderer, Henry A. Walsh, Ill.
 Hobbs, C. Ward Maroa, Ill.
 Hobbs, Mrs. John Wilbourn
 Jefferson City, Mo.
 Hokanson, N. M. Evanston, Ill.
 Holbrook, Royal H. Cedar Rapids, Iowa
 Holden, Walter S. Chicago, Ill.
 Holinger, Mrs. J. Chicago, Ill.
 Holland, Harry S. Arlington, Va.
 Holt, J. R. Decatur, Ill.
 Honens, Fred W. Sterling, Ill.
 Horine, Paul G. Springfield, Mo.
 Hornbaker, Clyde O. Chicago, Ill.
 Horner, Harlan Hoyt Wilmette, Ill.
 Horner, Mrs. Robert Petersburg, Ill.
 Houser, M. L. Peoria, Ill.
 Howard, Frank B. Detroit, Mich.
 Howe, Ralph B. Chicago, Ill.
 Howes, Wright Chicago, Ill.
 Hoyne, Thomas Temple Chicago, Ill.
 Hubbs, Mrs. Barbara Burr
 Chicago, Ill.
 Hudson, H. Gary Jacksonville, Ill.
 Hult, Russell A. Davenport, Iowa
 Humphrey, Mary E. Springfield, Ill.
 Hunt, Mrs. George Winnetka, Ill.
 Hunter, Clyde H. Quincy, Ill.
 Hunter, William L. Oak Park, Ill.
 Hurst, W. C. Springfield, Ill.
 Hynes, Robert Waukegan, Ill.

- Ide, Mrs. Francis P. Springfield, Ill.
 Ide, Robert L. Springfield, Ill.
 Inman, Walter G. Columbia, Mo.
 Ittner, Vernon W. Highland, Ill.

 Jackson, J. R. Freeport, Ill.
 Jackson, Zerny M. Champaign, Ill.
 Jacob, Edward J. Peoria, Ill.
 Jacobs, Walter H. Chicago, Ill.
 James, J. A. Evanston, Ill.
 Jamison, Mrs. F. R. Springfield, Ill.
 Jansen, Nels. Chicago, Ill.
 Jarvis, Lee. Chicago, Ill.
 Jenison, Ernestine. Paris, Ill.
 Jenkins, M. W. Washington, Ill.
 Jenks, C. E. East St. Louis, Ill.
 Jennings, Mrs. Anna Evelyn.
 Chicago, Ill.
 Johannesen, Robert E. Chicago, Ill.
 Johnson, C. Mauritz. Moline, Ill.
 Johnson, Mrs. Celia. Belleville, Ill.
 Johnson, Craig R. Chicago, Ill.
 Johnson, E. Gustav. Chicago, Ill.
 Johnson, Seth. Chicago, Ill.
 Johnson, Vilas. Wilmette, Ill.
 Johnston, William S. Chicago, Ill.
 Jones, Alfred. Gary, Ind.
 Jones, Mrs. Charles W.
 Highland Park, Ill.
 Jones, Edgar DeWitt. Detroit, Mich.
 Jones, G. H. Chicago, Ill.
 Jones, Silas. Sterling, Ill.
 Joyce, Joseph. Kenilworth, Ill.

 Kabana, A. Fred. Chicago, Ill.
 Kagy, Leigh M. East St. Louis, Ill.
 Kahlert, Harriet C. Chicago, Ill.
 Kane, Elias Kent. Pinckneyville, Ill.
 Karraker, O. M. Springfield, Ill.
 Keeney, Albert F. Chicago, Ill.
 Kellar, Herbert A. Chicago, Ill.
 Kelly, Oliver Harmon. Tuscola, Ill.
 Kerns, Mrs. G. P. Virginia, Ill.
 Kershner, Oscar A. Washington, D. C.
 Kespohl, Julius. Quincy, Ill.
 Kiefer, Fred M. Dallas, Pa.
 Kilburne, Mrs. Kate Winifred.
 Canton, Ill.
 Kilby, Glenn M. Virginia, Ill.
 Kimball, E. L. Oak Park, Ill.
 Kimmel, Joseph S. Davenport, Iowa
 King, Mrs. J. S. Springfield, Ill.
 King, John H. Edinburg, Ill.
 King, Willard L. Chicago, Ill.
 Kirk, Mrs. C. B. Mansfield, Ill.
 Knapp, Alfred A. Peoria, Ill.
 Knapp, Mrs. C. E. Springfield, Ill.
 Knight, Robert. Chicago, Ill.
 Knowlton, Mrs. Charles D.
 Freeport, Ill.
 Koenig, Francis J. Streator, Ill.
 Kohtala, K. W. Chicago, Ill.
 Kolb, Helen E. Park Ridge, Ill.
 Kopicki, I. T. Chicago, Ill.
 Koss, Ernest Raymond. Chicago, Ill.
 Kramer, R. J. East St. Louis, Ill.
 Krampikowsky, Otto J. Berwyn, Ill.
 Kranz, Theresa E. Chicago, Ill.
 Krenkel, John H. Chicago, Ill.
 Kroch, Adolph. Chicago, Ill.
 Krug, Merton E. Madison, Wis.
 Kubicek, Earl C. Chicago, Ill.
 Kuehn, Mrs. A. L. Oak Park, Ill.

 Lacher, Walter Scott. LaGrange, Ill.
 Lackey, H. W. Chicago, Ill.
 Lampert, Mrs. Philip C. Belvidere, Ill.
 Landis, Marshall A. Chicago, Ill.
 Lange, Louise A. Bloomington, Ill.
 Lansden, David S. Cairo, Ill.
 Larsh, Mrs. Marietta. Caseyville, Ill.
 Larson, J. R. Decatur, Ill.
 Laurence, W. S. Fairfield, Ill.
 Layton, George E. Nauvoo, Ill.
 Lee, Benton M. Chicago, Ill.
 Leich, Charles F. Evansville, Ind.
 Lemmon, George T. Tabor, N. J.
 Lemon, Frank K. Clinton, Ill.
 Lence, William R. Marion, Ill.
 Lennon, J. B. Dixon, Ill.
 Lentz, Eli Gilbert. Carbondale, Ill.
 Leubrie, Robert. Chicago, Ill.
 Lewis, Byron R. Bridgeport, Ill.
 Lewis, J. Lee. Mason City, Iowa
 Lewis, Lloyd. Chicago, Ill.
 Lewis, Louise E. Chicago, Ill.
 Lewis, Paul O. Oak Park, Ill.
 Lincoln Memorial University.
 Harrogate, Tenn.
 Lindley, Walter C. Danville, Ill.
 Lindsay, Clarence B. Chatham, Ill.
 Lindsay, Nettie S. Decatur, Ill.
 Lindstrom, Ralph G. Los Angeles, Calif.
 Littell, C. G. Kenilworth, Ill.

- Lockard, H. E. Mound City, Ill.
 Locke, Richard F. Glen Ellyn, Ill.
 Loesch, Frank J. Chicago, Ill.
 Long, Albert S. Chicago, Ill.
 Loos, A. J. New Athens, Ill.
 Lord, Arthur E. Plano, Ill.
 Lougeay, S. M. Belleville, Ill.
 Loy, Clark M. Effingham, Ill.
 Ludens, H. J. Morrison, Ill.
 Luhrs, Henry E. Shippenburg, Pa.
 Luttrell, Warren. Franklin, Ill.
 Lybyer, Albert Howe. Urbana, Ill.
 Lyles, A. R. Virginia, Ill.
 Lyon, Mrs. J. A. Chicago, Ill.
- Mackenzie, Rex. Chicago, Ill.
 MacLennan, Earl A. Morrison, Ill.
 Macpherson, Mrs. John Francis. . . .
 Springfield, Ill.
 Madlener, Albert F. Chicago, Ill.
 Malone, Mrs. T. R. Boone, Colo.
 Maltby, C. H. Syracuse, N. Y.
 Marean, Fred A. Belvidere, Ill.
 Maresch, A. L. Cleveland, Ohio
 Marsh, Mrs. Cora E. Rockford, Ill.
 Marshall, Emily Hanks.
 Washington, D. C.
 Marshall, Helen. Rock Island, Ill.
 Marshall, W. J. Evanston, Ill.
 Martin, Mrs. Alice. Virginia, Ill.
 Marvel, J. E. Waynesville, Ill.
 Mason, Grace S. Chicago, Ill.
 Mason, Joseph C. Arlington, Va.
 Matheny, Albert R. Chicago, Ill.
 Matheny, John R. Chicago, Ill.
 Matheny, Robert. Springfield, Ill.
 Matheny, Willard R. Chicago, Ill.
 Mauck, William. Danville, Ill.
 Maxcy, Leigh F. Pleasant Plains, Ill.
 Mayer, Edwin B. Chicago, Ill.
 McAdams, Mrs. J. D. Alton, Ill.
 McArthur, Selim W. Chicago, Ill.
 McCarthy, Michael J.
 East Bridgewater, Mass.
 McClelland, Clarence P.
 Jacksonville, Ill.
 McClintock, Mrs. L. E. Marissa, Ill.
 McClure, J. T. McClure, Ill.
 McCornack, Lois M. St. Charles, Ill.
 McCoy, John H. Decatur, Ill.
 McCreight, Rockwell. Carbondale, Ill.
 McCulloch, Edward D. Peoria, Ill.
- McCullough, Emily Miriam.
 Winchester, Ill.
 McDonald, Duncan. Springfield, Ill.
 McDonald, Frank. Chicago, Ill.
 McFadden, Mrs. George R.
 East St. Louis, Ill.
 McGlynn, Louise Jane. Belleville, Ill.
 McIntosh, David S. Carbondale, Ill.
 McKibbin, Mrs. George B.
 Chicago, Ill.
 McLaughlin, John Bryan. Chicago, Ill.
 McManus, R. C. Chicago, Ill.
 McMurtrie, Douglas C. Evanston, Ill.
 Means, Margaret K. Akron, Ohio
 Meeks, James A. Danville, Ill.
 Meier, August J. Batavia, Ill.
 Meier, Edward L. Peoria, Ill.
 Memler, Mary B. Peoria, Ill.
 Meng, George. Springfield, Ill.
 Meredith, C. M. Farmington, Mich.
 Merrill, Caroline Dean. Carthage, Ill.
 Merwin, Louis B. Bloomington, Ill.
 Meserve, Frederick H.
 New York City, N. Y.
 Meserve, Mrs. Theodocia E.
 Robinson, Ill.
 Messamore, Ford. Winchester, Ky.
 Meyer, Harold I. Chicago, Ill.
 Miller, Amos C. Chicago, Ill.
 Miller, Carl R. Decatur, Ill.
 Miller, Herbert Lane. Danville, Ill.
 Miller, J. C. Oak Park, Ill.
 Miller, John E. East St. Louis, Ill.
 Miller, John S. Chicago, Ill.
 Miller, Leland P. Lincoln, Ill.
 Miller, Mary J. Decatur, Ill.
 Miller, Mrs. Olive Baupre. Chicago, Ill.
 Miller, Oliver H. Chicago, Ill.
 Miller, Mrs. Phillip. Chicago, Ill.
 Miller, Winifred. Abingdon, Ill.
 Milligan, Edward W. Denver, Colo.
 Millikin, Gaylord D. Glencoe, Ill.
 Mills, A. T. Decatur, Ill.
 Mills, Wiley W. Chicago, Ill.
 Miner, E. G. Rochester, N. Y.
 Mobley, Zella. Mt. Vernon, Ill.
 Moderwell, Charles M. Evanston, Ill.
 Moffet, Hugh R. Monmouth, Ill.
 Monaghan, James. Springfield, Ill.
 Monohan, Treva. Springfield, Ill.
 Montgomery, E. B. Quincy, Ill.
 Moody, E. G. Oak Park, Ill.

- Moore, A. D. Benton, Ill.
 Moore, E. E. Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Morehouse, Margaret. . . . Danville, Ill.
 Morgan, Edward J. D. . . Park Ridge, Ill.
 Morrill, Edward. Boston, Mass.
 Morris, Henry C. Washington, D. C.
 Morrison, C. B. Waterloo, Ill.
 Morrow, Hull. Crevecoeur, Ill.
 Morton, Sterling. Chicago, Ill.
 Morton, Stratford Lee. . . St. Louis, Mo.
 Moss, Walter E. Oak Park, Ill.
 Murphy, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas J., Jr.
 Chicago, Ill.
 Myers, Jacob W. Harrisburg, Ill.
 Myers, Milton A. Chicago, Ill.
- Naffziger, Byron E. Goodfield, Ill.
 Native Daughters of Illinois. . . .
 Chicago, Ill.
 Nedwick, Jerrold. Chicago, Ill.
 Nef, John U. Chicago, Ill.
 Nelch, George. Watseka, Ill.
 Nell, George. Teutopolis, Ill.
 Nelson, G. Edward. . . . Springfield, Ill.
 Nelson, Peter B. Chicago, Ill.
 Newberry, Lane K. . Downers Grove, Ill.
 Newcomb, Rexford. Urbana, Ill.
 Newcombe, Alfred W. . . Galesburg, Ill.
 Newhall, Daniel H.
 New York City, N. Y.
 Newman, Ralph G. Oak Park, Ill.
 Nielsen, J. Walter. Chicago, Ill.
 Nobles, Arthur. Calumet, Mich.
 Nordstrom, O. L. Rock Island, Ill.
 Noren, Mrs. Lillian. . . . Chicago, Ill.
 Norman, C. A. Chicago, Ill.
 Norris, F. A. Jacksonville, Ill.
 North, Mrs. Francis S. . Lake Forest, Ill.
 North, Sterling. Downers Grove, Ill.
 Norton, Margaret C. . . . Springfield, Ill.
 Nowlan, John H. Greenville, Ill.
 Nutting, E. P. Moline, Ill.
 Nuveen, John. Chicago, Ill.
- Oakleaf, J. L. Moline, Ill.
 Oates, James F. Evanston, Ill.
 Oberfelder, Herbert M. . . Chicago, Ill.
 Ochs, Robert D. Chicago, Ill.
 O'Connell, Grace B. . . . Springfield, Ill.
 O'Donnell, Thomas E. . . . Urbana, Ill.
 Oien, John G. Chicago, Ill.
- Oliver, Mrs. Lou Belle Moore. . . .
 Princeton, Ill.
 Olmstead, L. B. Somonauk, Ill.
 Olson, Lester W. Milwaukee, Wis.
 O'Malley, Mary K. Chicago, Ill.
 Orendorff, U. G. Los Angeles, Calif.
 Osborn, L. G. East St. Louis, Ill.
 Ouska, John A. Chicago, Ill.
 Owen, C. N. Glencoe, Ill.
- Packard, R. D. . Cleveland Heights, Ohio
 Page, George T. Peoria, Ill.
 Palette, Edward M. . Los Angeles, Calif.
 Palmer, George Thomas. Springfield, Ill.
 Palmer, William G. Urbana, Ill.
 Papin, Edward V. Rye Beach, N. H.
 Parker, Fordyce. Mt. Vernon, Ill.
 Patten, Alfred E. Chicago, Ill.
 Patterson, William E. . . . Chicago, Ill.
 Patton, James S. Decatur, Ill.
 Pearson, C. H. Danville, Ill.
 Pease, Theodore Calvin. . . Urbana, Ill.
 Peelle, Mrs. Mary T. . . . Glen Ellyn, Ill.
 Peffers, Mrs. David J. . . . Aurora, Ill.
 Peoria Chapter D. A. R. . . . Peoria, Ill.
 Perrin, L. N. Nick. Belleville, Ill.
 Petersen, A. Scott. Chicago, Ill.
 Petersen, William F. Chicago, Ill.
 Petersen, Mrs. William F. . Chicago, Ill.
 Peterson, Carl Harold. . Champaign, Ill.
 Peterson, Eloy R. Moline, Ill.
 Peterson, Franz R. Galva, Ill.
 Pettit, Roswell T. Ottawa, Ill.
 Pfeifferberger, George D. . . Alton, Ill.
 Pfeifferberger, Mather. . . . Alton, Ill.
 Phemister, D. B. Chicago, Ill.
 Philip, William B. Peoria, Ill.
 Pickering, Mrs. J. L., Jr.
 Pleasant Ridge, Mich.
 Pierce, Bessie L. Chicago, Ill.
 Piersen, Mrs. David B. . . . Aurora, Ill.
 Pierson, Mrs. A. F. Rock Island, Ill.
 Pike, Lewis. Christopher, Ill.
 Piper, John H. Springfield, Ill.
 Polish Roman Catholic Union of
 America. Chicago, Ill.
 Pollock, Mrs. H. Y. Dixon, Ill.
 Pond, Mrs. Henry E. . . . Petersburg, Ill.
 Pontius, Myron L. Jacksonville, Ill.
 Poppenhusen, C. H. Evanston, Ill.
 Povenmire, H. M. Ada, Ohio

- Powell, Mrs. John G. Carmi, Ill.
 Pratt, Harry E. Springfield, Ill.
 Pree, Mrs. Edward Springfield, Ill.
 Price, Harry B. Morrison, Ill.
 Prince, Mrs. Arthur E. Springfield, Ill.
 Pringle, William R. Cleveland, Ohio
 Pritchett, Mr. and Mrs. C. J.
 Dana, Ill.
 Quick, Will D. Ashton, Ill.
 Randall, J. G. Urbana, Ill.
 Rangecroft, Benjamin Wilmette, Ill.
 Rathgeber, Hugo Cleveland, Ohio
 Raymond, E. B. Dixon, Ill.
 Rearick, G. F. Danville, Ill.
 Reasoner, M. A. Alton, Ill.
 Reece, Howell Chicago, Ill.
 Reed, C. W. Washington, D. C.
 Reed, Earl H., Jr. Chicago, Ill.
 Reichmann, A. F. Chicago, Ill.
 Reilly, Mrs. Frank C. Cantrall, Ill.
 Rentner, Otto C. Chicago, Ill.
 Reynolds, Mrs. F. W. East St. Louis, Ill.
 Richmond, Mabel E. Decatur, Ill.
 Rickards, Francis S. Chicago, Ill.
 Rickert, Joseph W. Waterloo, Ill.
 Riess, Alfred D. Red Bud, Ill.
 Ripstra, J. Henri Chicago, Ill.
 Risdon, Frederick Ray
 Los Angeles, Calif.
 Roberts, John M. Kenilworth, Ill.
 Robertson, W. S. Urbana, Ill.
 Robinson, Carl E. Jacksonville, Ill.
 Robinson, Margaret H. Springfield, Ill.
 Roden, C. B. Chicago, Ill.
 Roemer, Erwin W. River Forest, Ill.
 Rogers, Eugene W. Chicago, Ill.
 Rooney, Francis James Chicago, Ill.
 Ropiequet, R. W. East St. Louis, Ill.
 Ropiequet, W. C. East St. Louis, Ill.
 Rosborough, C. R. Moline, Ill.
 Rosenthal, James Chicago, Ill.
 Routson, Clarence M. Farmington, Ill.
 Rudd, Mrs. Guy Springfield, Ill.
 Ruedi, Charles H. Decatur, Ill.
 Rule, W. G. St. Louis, Mo.
 Rusk, H. P. Urbana, Ill.
 Russell, John L. Effingham, Ill.
 Ruyle, J. B. Champaign, Ill.
 Ryan, John H. Pontiac, Ill.
 Ryerson, Joseph T. Chicago, Ill.
 Sage, H. K. Clarksdale, Miss.
 Sahlender, Fred Springfield, Ill.
 Salomon, William E., Jr. Chicago, Ill.
 Sanders, J. C. Keyser, W. Va.
 Sandeson, Ruth Danville, Ill.
 Sapp, Mrs. Frederick A. Ottawa, Ill.
 Sargent, Ralph Chicago, Ill.
 Satter, G. A. Waterloo, Ill.
 Schaad, Robert E. Virginia, Ill.
 Schaefer, Carl W. Cleveland, Ohio
 Schaller, Jacob J. Oak Park, Ill.
 Scheffler, Emma Springfield, Ill.
 Scherer, Andrew Chicago, Ill.
 Schipper, Mrs. Anna Newtonville, Mass.
 Schlafly, L. A. Alton, Ill.
 Schmidt, Ernst C. Chicago, Ill.
 Schmidt, Mrs. Minna Chicago, Ill.
 Schmidt, Richard E. Chicago, Ill.
 Schocker, Elsie Rock Island, Ill.
 Schrader, F. L. Springfield, Ill.
 Schrader, Henry C. G. Belleville, Ill.
 Schriver, Lester O. Peoria, Ill.
 Schumm, Lorenz G. LaPorte, Ind.
 Schweppe, Charles H. Chicago, Ill.
 Scofield, Charles J. Carthage, Ill.
 Scott, Emma Julia Washington, Ill.
 Scott, Franklin W.
 Newton Highlands, Mass.
 Searle, J. Clinton Rock Island, Ill.
 Seifert, Joseph H. Ottawa, Ill.
 Sewell, Harry A. Chicago, Ill.
 Seymour, Glenn H. Charleston, Ill.
 Shaff, D. C. Clinton, Ind.
 Shaw, Joseph Lawrence Geneseo, Ill.
 Shaw, Warren C. Carlinville, Ill.
 Shawver, H. L. Morrison, Ill.
 Sheean, James M. Chicago, Ill.
 Shelton, W. E. Beardstown, Ill.
 Shestak, Alvina M. Harrisburg, Ill.
 Shipton, T. D. Hanover, Ill.
 Shively, Roma L. Elmwood, Ill.
 Shutes, Milton H. Oakland, Calif.
 Siebel, A. F. W. Chicago, Ill.
 Sinnock, William H. Quincy, Ill.
 Sioussat, St. George L.
 Washington, D. C.
 Skogh, Harriet M. Springfield, Ill.
 Slattery, James M. Chicago, Ill.
 Smith, Clyde Dixon, Ill.
 Smith, Clyde L. Robinson, Ill.
 Smith, Ethel Indianola, Ill.
 Smith, Frederick M. Independence, Mo.

- Smith, George W. Carbondale, Ill.
 Smith, H. W. Roodhouse, Ill.
 Smith, Henry P. S. Edwardsville, Ill.
 Smith, Hermon Dunlap. Lake Forest, Ill.
 Smith, Joe Patterson Jacksonville, Ill.
 Smith, Scott S. Wilmette, Ill.
 Smith, William T. Chicago, Ill.
 Smyser, George. Ridgewood, N. J.
 Smythe, Mrs. Mary. Quincy, Ill.
 Snyder, Isabel. Virginia, Ill.
 Solberg, Marshall. Chicago, Ill.
 Spencer, Jesse E. Rock Island, Ill.
 Spencer, William J. Rock Island, Ill.
 Spiller, A. L. Carbondale, Ill.
 Spoerri, James Fuller. Chicago, Ill.
 Spooner, Harry L. Peoria, Ill.
 Sprague, A. A. Chicago, Ill.
 Sprague, William F. Chicago, Ill.
 Springer, William. Detroit, Mich.
 Staab, Carl H. Springfield, Ill.
 Staab, Herman W. Springfield, Ill.
 Staack, Henry F. Rock Island, Ill.
 Stahl, John M. Swannanoa, N. C.
 Starr, John W., Jr. Millersburg, Pa.
 Starr, Thomas I. Detroit, Mich.
 Stephens, Gertrude. Bloomington, Ill.
 Stephens, R. Allan. Springfield, Ill.
 Stephens, William C. Centralia, Ill.
 Stericker, Mrs. George F. Springfield, Ill.
 Stern, Alfred Whital. Chicago, Ill.
 Stevens, Harry R. Clinton, Ill.
 Stevens, Jewell F. Chicago, Ill.
 Stevenson, Adlai E. Libertyville, Ill.
 Stevenson, Roscoe. Carbondale, Ill.
 Stewart, Ford. Palatine, Ill.
 Stone, Mrs. Charles N. Moline, Ill.
 Stone, Claude U. Peoria, Ill.
 Stuhr, Mrs. L. P. San Francisco, Calif.
 Stullken, George C. Edwardsville, Ill.
 Sulzer, Angeline M. Chicago, Ill.
 Sutter, John R. Edwardsville, Ill.
 Swank, George M. Galva, Ill.
 Swansen, Fred R. Chicago, Ill.
 Sweet, William W. Chicago, Ill.
 Swigert, L. E. Edinburg, Ill.
 Syfert, Vernon A. Decatur, Ill.
 Tarbell, Ida M. Bethel, Conn.
 Tarrant, Thalia J. Normal, Ill.
 Tate, Mrs. Louis N. Galesburg, Ill.
 Taylor, E. J. Quincy, Ill.
 Taylor, Mrs. Mack. Danville, Ill.
 Taylor, Marjorie. Virginia, Ill.
 Taylor, Samuel G., Jr. Algonquin, Ill.
 Terry, Gifford C. Polo, Ill.
 Thoma, March. Belleville, Ill.
 Thomas, Benjamin P. Springfield, Ill.
 Thompson, Floyd E. Chicago, Ill.
 Thornton, George A. Ottawa, Ill.
 Thruston, R. C. Ballard. Louisville, Ky.
 Tillotson, Mrs. Harry T. Chicago, Ill.
 Tilton, Clint Clay. Danville, Ill.
 Tilton, Sam R. Danville, Ill.
 Tipsword, Miles A. Charleston, Ill.
 Tisler, C. C. Ottawa, Ill.
 Toler, Mrs. W. L. Mounds, Ill.
 Topel, P. A. Oak Park, Ill.
 Townley, Wayne C. Bloomington, Ill.
 Townsend, William H. Lexington, Ky.
 Tracy, W. W. Williamstown, Mass.
 Trapp, Harold, Jr. Lincoln, Ill.
 Travous, R. Louise. Edwardsville, Ill.
 Trefz, Julius F. Evanston, Ill.
 Tregallis, Ida. Astoria, Ill.
 Trigg, L. O. Eldorado, Ill.
 Trimble, Charles. Clifton, Ill.
 Troxel, Russell B. Farmington, Ill.
 Truitt, Harry F. Vandalia, Ill.
 Turner, Charles H. Pekin, Ill.
 Turner, Katherine. New York City, N. Y.
 Twitchell, Mrs. James W. Belleville, Ill.
 Uihlein, Edgar J. Lake Bluff, Ill.
 Underwood, Mr. and Mrs. Morgan P.
 Chicago, Ill.
 Unger, John W. Danville, Ill.
 Unseitig, Otto R. Oak Park, Ill.
 Van de Woestyne, Royal S. Chicago, Ill.
 Van Leer, Mrs. Bird Colloday.
 Normal, Ill.
 Van Meter, Craig. Mattoon, Ill.
 Van Norman, C. E. Peoria, Ill.
 Vaught, L. O. Jacksonville, Ill.
 Vernon, Mrs. Leroy T.
 Falling Waters, W. Va.
 Ver Nooy, Winifred. Chicago, Ill.
 Vien, H. Grady. East St. Louis, Ill.
 Vogt, William G. Carrollton, Ill.
 Voris, H. C. Waterloo, Ill.
 Voss, John. Peoria, Ill.
 Waddell, Mrs. F. J. Jacksonville, Ill.
 Wahlstrom, Carl. Worcester, Mass.

- Wakefield, Sherman D. New York City, N. Y.
 New York City, N. Y.
 Waldron, Nell Blythe. Bloomington, Ill.
 Wallis, William Bloomington, Ill.
 Ward, Arnold D. Danville, Ill.
 Ward, Philip H. Sterling, Ill.
 Warner, Henry C. Dixon, Ill.
 Warner, Robert L. Dixon, Ill.
 Warnsing, Mrs. G. D. Petersburg, Ill.
 Warren, Louis A. Ft. Wayne, Ind.
 Waters, William L. Godfrey, Ill.
 Watts, Mrs. Harry Temple.
 Vincennes, Ind.
 Weaver, George H. Wilmette, Ill.
 Webster, Robert W. Minonk, Ill.
 Weeks, W. Pekin, Ill.
 Weilepp, Carl N. Decatur, Ill.
 Weingartner, Roy. Mt. Vernon, Ill.
 Weir, Mrs. J. C. Ft. Collins, Colo.
 Welch, Ethel. Lincoln, Ill.
 Wells, H. L. Evanston, Ill.
 Welsh, R. K. Rockford, Ill.
 Wenger, George C. Rock Island, Ill.
 Wessen, Ernest J. Mansfield, Ohio
 West, Roy O. Chicago, Ill.
 West, Warren Edward Belleville, Ill.
 Weston, Mrs. F. G. Geneseo, Ill.
 Wetherbee, S. A. Springfield, Ill.
 Wham, Fred L. Centralia, Ill.
 Wham, John P. Centralia, Ill.
 Whedon, Frances E. Lake Forest, Ill.
 Wheeler, Mrs. A. W. Sterling, Ill.
 Wheeler, Mrs. C. B. Dixon Springs, Ill.
 Wheeler, W. A. Albion, Ill.
 White, Charles T. Hancock, N. Y.
 White, Mrs. Florence Scott. Decatur, Ill.
 White, Mrs. James H. Geneseo, Ill.
 White, Mrs. Lillian A. L. Chicago, Ill.
 Whitefort, Mrs. Kathryn D.
 St. Elmo, Ill.
 Whiteside, Daisy L. Belleville, Ill.
 Widney, Mrs. R. L. La Harpe, Ill.
 Wiegand, Mrs. Winifred Huff.
 St. Louis, Mo.
 Wiese, Charles G. Chicago, Ill.
 Wilkey, Harry L. Camp Point, Ill.
 Willard, Guy. Springfield, Ill.
 Willard, N. W. Chicago, Ill.
 Williams, Alice. Moline, Ill.
 Williams, Mrs. Effie C. Danville, Ill.
 Williams, Oliver B. Quincy, Ill.
 Williston, Charles S. Chicago, Ill.
 Wilson, Charles H. Davenport, Iowa
 Wilson, George H. Quincy, Ill.
 Wilson, J. Richard. Villa Park, Ill.
 Wilson, Rufus Rockwell. Elmira, N. Y.
 Wilson, Samuel K. Chicago, Ill.
 Wilson, Samuel M. Lexington, Ky.
 Wimmer, Guy. Alton, Ill.
 Wingert, Edward E. Dixon, Ill.
 Winings, L. Paul. Chevy Chase, Md.
 Winkler, Clyde V. Cicero, Ill.
 Winkler, Wallace R. Dahlgren, Ill.
 Wolcott, Charles A. Evanston, Ill.
 Wolf, Hazel C. Peoria, Ill.
 Wood, Mrs. Ethel K. Freeport, Ill.
 Wood, George W. Moline, Ill.
 Woodbury, Flora M. Danville, Ill.
 Wooley, Mrs. Theodocia Suddeth
 Blue Mound, Ill.
 Wright, John I. Carbondale, Ill.
 Wright, John P. Keene, N. H.
 Wright, John S. Jacksonville, Ill.
 Wright, Mary. Farmington, Ill.
 Wyatt, James. Chrisman, Ill.
 Yapple, I. S. Virginia, Ill.
 Young, Charles S. Geneseo, Ill.
 Young, J. Harvey. Decatur, Ill.
 Zabel, Max W. Wilmette, Ill.
 Zatterberg, Helen. Chicago, Ill.
 Zimmermann, Herbert P. Chicago, Ill.
 Zimmerman, Mrs. J. F. Harvey, Ill.

HISTORICAL NOTES

OLD MASTERPIECES DISCOVERED IN THE CORN BELT

"Look Mother, *Life* has printed a copy of an old family portrait just like ours." Minna and Minna Margaret Adams compared the illustration in the December 9, 1940 issue of *Life* with the picture on the wall of their Jacksonville, Illinois, home. The two portraits were not the same but it was obvious that the same artist had painted both. The technique was similar, the subjects were grouped in a like manner and the same sofa appeared in both. Reading the legend under the painting reproduced in *Life* the Adamses, mother and daughter, learned that it was a picture of the James McCormick family, Baltimore merchants, painted about 1805 "by a Negro, Joshua Johnston, believed to be the first painter of his race in the U. S." This was revealing to Mrs. Adams who had never been able to find any signature or other mark of identification on her picture. The painting had come to her by inheritance from her father, George Worthington, and Mrs. Adams had cherished it along with other heirlooms of early Illinois. She knew that it was over a hundred years old but had no idea of the significance of the artist.

Both mother and daughter had been schooled from childhood on the names and subsequent careers of all the members of their family in the portrait. "The woman at the left of our picture, the mother," Mrs. Adams explained when she showed me the picture, "is my great and Minna Mar's great-great-grandmother. Her grave is at Pittsfield. She came to Illinois in 1830. Her name was Elizabeth Kennedy and she married Kennedy Long of Baltimore, a colonel in the War of 1812. The baby standing on the sofa next to his mother, the little fellow in a dress, is my Great-Granduncle George Long. Next to him sits my Great-Grandaunt Elizabeth. She's the one extending her hand with proud, patronizing largess toward her brother, the little chap in the dark jacket helping himself to the cherries in the basket. His name was Andrew Kennedy Long and



THE JAMES MCCORMICK FAMILY, OF BALTIMORE, PAINTED BY JOSHUA
JOHNSTON ABOUT 1805

he grew up to be a member of the antarctic exploring expedition led by Captain Charles Wilkes—the Wilkes who later almost caused a war between England and America when he insulted the British flag by snatching Mason and Slidell from the deck of an English packet."

"Andrew Kennedy served also as a captain in the Mexican War," Minna Mar reminded her mother. "And his son acted as secretary for Andrew Johnson."

Mrs. Adams went on to state that only two of the people in the portrait came as pioneers to Illinois. When Mother Kennedy came west in 1830 the boys had left the family circle to start their education. Daughter Elizabeth, now a "big girl," was still with her mother, and two new children, Thomas Jefferson and Emilie Juliana, had joined the family. The latter, who married Thomas Worthington in Springfield, Illinois, seven years after the family's arrival, was Mrs. Adams' grandmother. Family tradition has preserved the story that the Bishop of St. Louis planned to sanctify the wedding but when bad roads prevented his arrival on schedule a lay wedding was substituted.

The date when the portrait came to Illinois is not known but Mrs. Adams presumes that Elizabeth Kennedy brought it down the Ohio on the boat with her other household goods which were unloaded at Quincy in 1830. Mrs. Adams remembers further, that as a little girl she saw other portraits in the homes of relatives—pictures inherited from Elizabeth Kennedy.

Mrs. Adams does not know how many pictures were owned by her great-grandmother, how many of them were by Joshua Johnston or even where all of them may be found today. Families scatter widely in five generations. But she and her daughter have written many letters, made many inquiries, phone calls, visited old Pike County towns and farms, and their efforts have been rewarded with considerable success, four Joshua Johnstons having come to light in central Illinois. A fifth is believed to be in storage at Quincy. The owners have rarely appreciated the value of the pictures in their possession. One was found in a cellar and another was being used as a target for a boy's air rifle. It is not at all improbable that more of these portraits will be found by occupants of old houses if they care to take time to search their attics, cellars, stable lofts and the backs of unused closets.

One of the most interesting details in connection with the discovery of these old portraits in Illinois is the fact that Joshua Johnston himself was an unknown artist a year ago. Mrs. Adams, with her usual historical thoroughness, consulted eight biographical dictionaries of artists and found no reference to him. Further investigation disclosed the fact that Dr. J. Hall Pleasants of Baltimore had recently "discovered" artist Johnston, locating three of his portraits on Long Island, one in Westminster, Maryland, one in the Maryland Historical Society gallery, six in Baltimore residences and two in Albemarle County, Virginia—a total of thirteen. The results of Dr. Pleasants' research, with reproductions of his discoveries, were published in 1940 by the Walpole Society. The Adams' discovery of five more Joshua Johnstons in central Illinois now makes the known portraits by this artist total eighteen. Dr. Pleasants' research included an attempt to ascertain some information about the life of this artist who had been omitted from the dictionaries. The owners of all the known portraits were consulted for family traditions which might serve as a clue to the artist's identity. Most of the owners, like the Adamses, had never heard the artist's name. Some few, however, remembered that they had been told that he was a slave belonging to their families. Strange indeed that the same slave had been owned by several families! Pleasants inquired further. The owner of another portrait stated that he had always heard that the artist's name was William Johnson. Another portrait owner remembered that he had been told that the artist had come from the West Indies. With these three clues Dr. Pleasants set to work. First he consulted the early city directories and found that a portrait painter named Johnson or Johnston lived in Baltimore from 1796 to 1824. This man's first name, however, was not William but Joshua. Could he be the artist who painted all the portraits and if so what explanation would account for the slave tradition? The answer was close at hand. In 1810 the census listed separately the free householders of color and Joshua Johnston was among them. Slaves were not listed by name in the census and without doubt Johnston was free—free for at least twenty-eight years. The tradition that a Negro or a mulatto was a slave could easily grow in the minds of persons gilding the memory of their ancestors.

The story that Joshua Johnston had come from the West Indies



PORTRAIT OF THE KENNEDY LONG FAMILY IN JACKSONVILLE, ILLINOIS. WAS
THIS ALSO PAINTED BY JOSHUA JOHNSTON?



presents a problem more difficult to be checked. One bit of circumstantial evidence, however, points to the veracity of the tradition. The Negro insurrection in Santo Domingo which made the name of Touissant L'Ouverture famous began in 1791. Continued massacres and intrigues caused a general emigration of the upper class Europeans. The records show that during the years 1794 and 1795 more than a thousand refugees arrived in Baltimore. Among these émigrés were a number of artists and silversmiths and many slaves who had remained faithful to their masters. It is significant that the dates of this migration coincided with the date of the initial appearance of Joshua Johnston's name in the city directory but further corroborating evidence is lacking.

The importance of determining whether Joshua Johnston came from Santo Domingo or whether he was reared in Baltimore under the influence of American artists is of more than antiquarian interest, and it is hoped that Dr. Pleasants or some other research student will be able to establish the artist's antecedents. Such a discovery would have weight in disproving the current theory that the Revolutionary War, which confiscated wealth and exiled people of culture, was responsible for the deterioration of American art during the two following generations. Students of American art who believe in this theory point out that such artists as Ramsey, Romney, Gainsborough and Joshua Reynolds, still popular after two hundred years, were followed by no American artists whose work has lived. Such paintings as "Blue Boy," "The Age of Innocence" and "Lady Hamilton" are still favorite decorations in American homes but only historians or collectors hang on their walls Paul Revere's scurrilous engravings, John Trumbull's confused battle scenes—"The Surrender of Cornwallis" or "Signing the Declaration of Independence." None of Charles W. Peale's sixty portraits of Washington is considered "good art." Only in schoolbooks and in an occasional library can be found a copy of Peale's most notable portrait—George Washington in full stature, stomach protruding, his hand upon a cannon, Nassau Hall and marching Hessians in the background.

The dreary color schemes and tedious compositions of the post-Revolutionary period are relieved by only one artist, who also painted Washington. Gilbert Stuart perfected an excellent color

technique, a trick of contrast that makes his subjects' eyes sparkle and gives a translucent luminosity to their complexions. His Washington, highly imaginative, is the serene and glamorous figure who has been fixed permanently in the hearts of his countrymen while the more truthful reproductions of Peale, before whom Washington sat many times, are treasured only by connoisseurs and have had practically no influence on American ideas. The contrast between Stuart and Peale, certain students believe, only emphasizes the decadence in American art following the Revolution. Here is where Joshua Johnston becomes important. Stuart, these students say, with his excellent qualities cannot be classed as an American artist. Although born in colonial America he achieved success as England's most fashionable portrait painter and in this role returned to America. American art of the period is represented only by the work of soldiers, craftsmen, limners and engravers, men like Revere, Trumbull and Peale, who carried on as well as they could the traditions of the patrons of art exiled by the Revolution. At best they can be classed only as copyists, whose meticulous attention to details distracts attention from the subjects of their work, and whose judgment in the selection of color lacks constructive imagination. This criticism of the post-Revolutionary school is particularly applicable to the works of Charles W. Peale whose influence on the following generation was profound. Peale named his sons Raphael, Rembrandt, Titian, Rubens, etc., and in spite of this handicap two of them did become artists. Rembrandt settled in Baltimore where he established in 1814 an art school, gallery and curio museum. A relative, Charles Peale Polk, was also a recognized artist in the city.

Joshua Johnston displayed many of the mannerisms of these painters. If it could be shown that he was a product of their school, the quality of his work would reinforce the theory that the Revolution produced decadent art. But if on the other hand it be found that he had been forced to flee from Santo Domingo with the upper and cultured classes, as the Tories had been forced to flee America, the theory falls to pieces. Time and continued search may solve this problem and a step in its solution will have been accomplished when more light is thrown on the life of Joshua Johnston. Perhaps some day some student reading the pages of an old journal, a for-

gotten diary or a yellow letter found in the bottom of an old trunk in the garret, will be fortunate enough to discover the information needed. Almost a third of the known Joshua Johnston portraits have turned up in Illinois. It is possible that records serving as a clue to the artist's life will also be discovered in the Middle West.

JAY MONAGHAN.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

ILLINOIS' FIRST SHOWMAN

In the year 1825 John Carter, a lineal descendant of John Carter who came over in the *Mayflower* with Miles Standish and landed at Plymouth Rock, went from Boston, Massachusetts to Barnston, Province of Quebec, Canada, and married Cecilia Mosher, a widow. To them on August 28, 1827, was born Cyrus Coarser Carter. When Cyrus was fourteen years old his father, mother, two aunts and an uncle were stricken with the "cold plague"—a malady now known as erysipelas—and died. All of Cyrus' other relatives had moved to Illinois and he decided to go there also. With twenty-five cents in cash he started out on foot, going first to Boston. He worked his way across the country, arriving in Illinois at the age of seventeen. He visited his uncle, Jesse Burbank, in Exeter, then moved on to Mt. Sterling, and later to St. Louis where he secured work in a wagon factory. But when he found his abolitionist sentiments unpopular in the Missouri city he returned to Illinois.

In his travels through Illinois, Cy observed that the chief recreations were horse racing, gambling, drinking, singing, hunting, debating, fighting, and taking part in religious activities and politics. He conceived the idea that if he had some kind of show that he could take from town to town he would probably make some money and also see the country. Starting a show in those days was an "up hill business," as he said, but he had for a nucleus several sleight-of-hand tricks he had picked up around Boston. He thought that a "hocus-pocus, sleight-of-hand, legerdemain, now you see it and now you don't see it" type of entertainment, plus a lecture on ancient and modern magic, would make a good program. The lecture was made the primary thing because some towns were averse

to anything that was mysterious if it was not religious and would charge a license fee that would be prohibitory.

In those days the handbill was the chief form of advertising. Cy got the printing for his bill done in St. Louis but there was no one to do the kind of illustrating which he desired. So he drew on his own mechanical ability and made a woodcut of a showman in action. He experienced much difficulty in getting his crude woodcut to work in the press but he finally got a "presentable picture for the day in which it was made."

Cy's first performance was held at Mt. Sterling in Brown County, Illinois, where he took in \$23.50, two old roosters and two pairs of socks. The next morning he turned the roosters loose in the street and let the village boys race for them; the socks he added to his wardrobe. His final performance was given in Beloit, Wisconsin, seven years later, the receipts on this occasion totaling \$34.

At first he had no music to entertain the audience, but he soon employed a fiddler. The fiddle, however, was the familiar musical instrument of early Illinois and he needed something that was more of a novelty. While visiting in St. Louis he got acquainted with a Frenchman, Morgan Vanalynde, who played on the Scottish bagpipes—or "Highland Harp" as the élite called it—and he was added to the show. This brings up the old question as to whether it is possible to extract music from a bagpipe. Robert Burns cannot be quoted in the affirmative for he did not say in "Tam O'Shanter" that Auld Nick succeeded in producing music. He only said:

To gie them music was his charge:
He screw'd the pipes and gart them skirl
Till roof and rafters a' did dirl.

A later and scarcely less eminent authority, W. S. Gilbert, in his pathetic ballad, "Ellen McJones Aberdeen," came out less dubitably in favor of the bagpipe:

"Let's show," said McClan, "to this Sassenach loon
That the bagpipes can play him a regular tune.
Let's see," said McClan, as he thoughtfully sat,
" 'In My Cottage' is easy—I'll practise at that."

He blew at his "Cottage," and he blew with a will,
 For a year, seven months, and a fortnight until
 (You'll hardly believe it) McClan, I declare,
 Elicited something resembling an air.

It was wild—it was fitful—as wild as the breeze;
 It wandered about into several keys;
 It was jerky, spasmodic and harsh, I'm aware;
 But still it distinctly suggested an air.

.

"Hech gather, hech gather, hech gather around;
 And fill a' ye lugs wi' the exquisite sound.
 An air fra' the bagpipes—beat that if you can!
 Hurrah for Clonglocketty Angus McClan!"

Regardless of whether any real music was produced by the instrument of the Scottish Highlands in Illinois, it proved to be a winner in getting out the crowds for Cy Carter's show. Dressed in the moorland plaid of a Scottish Highlander, the tooter of the bagpipes soon had men, women and children following like the fabled "Pied Piper of Hamelin"—though dogs and other domestic animals hid themselves to the woods, in many cases requiring their owners to spend several days in searching for them.

A synopsis of Cy's experiences and adventures as a sleight-of-hand performer "would make a book bigger than the Bible," as he expressed it. Only a few will be mentioned here. One of the tricks with which the audience was delighted took place at the close of each performance when Cy ate all the candles which had been used on his performing table to light the room. But instead of using the conventional tallow or wax candle he ran a candle mould through a big apple, thus making a candle from the apple. In the top he stuck an almond seed which, since it was full of oil, would burn indefinitely. In performing this astonishing feat, he merely blew out the candle, flipped out the almond seed, and ate the apple candle. At a performance in Elgin, an Irishman in the audience said to his companion: "Sure, Mike, and he is hell on grease, don't ye think?"

One of Carter's most spectacular feats was to allow anyone in the audience to shoot at him with a pistol and he would catch the bullet in his teeth or hand. This was accomplished by loading one pistol in full view of the spectators and changing it for one that was loaded with a wad. In Alton, out of an immense crowd, no one could

be found to fire the pistol. Carter had been catching the bullet regularly with his teeth but on this occasion he thought that he saw the hand of Fate. So when a steamboat captain finally offered to fire the pistol—with the understanding that he was firing because the showman requested it—Cy decided to catch the bullet with his hand. Apparently the captain used his own pistol, which was loaded with a ball, instead of the one given him by Carter. At the word "Fire," the ball hit Cy's left hand near the joint between the second and third fingers. Cy quietly wrapped a rag around his injured hand and went on with the show, but he had the scar the rest of his life. The ball went through the curtain behind him and struck the sleeping bill-poster in the leg, causing him a painful flesh wound.

When Cy quit the show business after seven years he gave two reasons for his action: he was tired of traveling, and the country had made a radical change in manners and culture since he started his performances. Audiences had formerly listened to him with rapt attention but they had begun to make sly remarks about his grammar. Typical of these was one man's observation: "Say, that showman was a good talker but didn't he raise hell with the English language."

After his last performance in Beloit, Cy sold his apparatus to a Chicago man and went back to Exeter, Illinois where he started a wagon and carriage shop. He looked upon his life as a showman as the highlight of his life and for many years he was called the "Old Showman" by all who knew him. He followed the wagon and buggy making trade for some time—in those days the wagon maker bought the parts separately and put them together. But later the manufacturers began to assemble the entire vehicles at the factory and Cy, "seeing the handwriting on the wall," gave up his business and bought a farm where he spent the remainder of his life. He died on April 10, 1910.

C. C. CARTER.

BLUFFS, ILL.

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

NOTE ON LABOR RELATIONS, 1871

OBITUARY

Departed this life Feb. 11th, 1871, after a severe and lingering illness, *Springfield Typographical Union No. 60*, in the 9th year of its age.

Sired by Worthy Motives and born of Good Intentions, the departed, in its earliest years, gave good promise of a future of usefulness and honor; but, alas, the wishes of its parents and the hopes of its true friends were doomed to disappointment. When but a tender youth it became an orphan. Its parents—Worthy Motives and Good Intentions—were foully assassinated by Malice, Envy and Personal Prejudice, and the control and guardianship of the youth were usurped by Unworthy Motives and Evil Intentions. Since that time, the orphan Union has been a pliant tool in the hands of its foster-parents; and its former friends, disgusted by the tyranny, falsehood and treachery of the trio, welcome the intelligence of the death of Springfield Typographical Union No. 60, with the most sincere pleasure. *Sic semper tyrannis.*

Illinois State Journal, Feb. 13, 1871.

HOUSING COSTS IN 1852

I had now become a landowner—the possessor—the rightful lord of a wedge of earth [near Ellisville, Ill.] reaching to the centre of the globe—forty acres on the surface, for £10 sterling! In six months after coming into the State, I would be a citizen, entitled to vote at all elections—might serve on a jury, or be elected justice of the peace, or representative to the State Legislature. I have known persons who possessed less real estate, elected to these last offices. . . .

[When I] got my house timbers ready for putting together . . . the whole had much the appearance of a bird's cage. Along the sides

were nailed the *weather boards*, each six or eight inches wide—the lower edge of the upper board overlapping the upper edge of the under one, clinker-fashion. The doors and window frames I made myself also, and the sashes I purchased for a picayune a pane, each pane of the size called "eight by ten." The glass cost four cents a "light," much cheaper than British glass, but not quite so good—being disfigured a good deal by waves and other irregularities. When I had got the whole enclosed—weather boarding, shingling, and flooring performed—I next built a brick chimney, and oven alongside, and having got the whole into a suitable condition for a habitation, *we moved in*, well enough pleased with our first "lodge in the wilderness." When I say that I performed all the work with the assistance of John Adams, I say nothing in the way of boast, though I confess I felt a sort of honest pride in sleeping for the first night in a house of my own building. . . .

I will now give a statement of the entire cost of the structure, 18 feet long, 14 feet wide, 8 feet from floor to joists, roof 5 feet pitch, with a nice little garret, and back room eight feet by seven:—

	Dols.	Cents
Two days' hewing	\$	1.50
Carrying timbers to the ground50
600 feet studding, 4 in. sq. for sides and rafters		6.00
200 do. scantling		2.00
400 do. Oak sheeting for roof		4.00
2,000 Black Walnut shingles, at 5 dols per 1,000		10.00
1,000 feet Black Walnut lumber for siding		10.00
600 feet Cottonwood planking for floors		6.00
2½ pairs window sashes		1.87½
30 panes of glass, at 4 cents each		1.20
Putty18
Lime for building chimney		1.00
Nails (20 lbs.) at 4 cents per lb.80
1,500 bricks for chimney and oven		9.00
2 doors, Black Walnut, inch and a half stuff		1.00
2 pair hinges, 35 cents—screw nails, 15 cents50

\$55.55½

Add to this, say six dollars for board, and thus for sixty-five and a-half dollars, or about twelve pounds sterling—not counting our labour—we got up a pretty commodious little building. Still it was only a shell, and on the approach of winter required to be lathed and plastered inside, which cost fifteen dollars more.

JOHN REGAN, *The Emigrant's Guide* [1852], 83, 188-89.

GASTRONOMIC HABITS OF AMERICANS

I have often been filled with wonder and admiration upon seeing the amount of milk an American will drink at one meal, without apparently getting bilious. And the immense amount of food a man will sometimes consume, and so quickly, that he surely cannot allow himself time while he is eating for a fit and healthy digestion, has also often surprised me, especially if I happen to be sitting opposite him, or next to him, so that I can see him, and we both began the meal at the same time, and I find that after I have only got "through" with my second course my neighbour has finished his dinner altogether and is quietly walking away! It is a wonder to me there are not more accidents like the one which overtook poor Charlie Pierce one day, at Erie, Pennsylvania, who "met his death (says the *New York Herald*) by swallowing a huge piece of beef, which stuck in his throat and killed him in less than three minutes!"

Our Transatlantic cousins are very fond of apple-pie. It is consumed to a large extent all over the country. Not raised apple-pie; but flat, and with a paste that is invariably very coarse and indigestible. You have a triangular-shaped slice put on your plate, and (in some parts of America) if you do not want to be singular you will eat it with a bit of cheese, Yorkshire fashion. As an American lady once graphically put it:

Apple-pie without cheese

Is like a kiss without a squeeze.

W. G. MARSHALL, *Through America* (1882), 98-99.

BLOOMERS AND BLOOMER ETIQUETTE

HOW THE UNIQUE CLUB DISCIPLINED TWO MEMBERS WHO APPEARED
IN SKIRTS

The Unique Cycling club of Chicago is all that its name implies. One of its laws is that on all runs bloomers or knickerbockers shall be worn, and two members who disobeyed this rule recently met with a punishment that they will not forget soon. Union park was the rendezvous for the last run, and 50 members turned out. The president, Mrs. Langdon, and the captain, Miss Bunker, observed two women wearing short skirts over their bloomers.

"Take the skirts off," ordered Captain Bunker.

"Indeed we won't," was the reply.

A crowd of 200 had collected to see the start. The president and the captain held a consultation, and then, taking several strong armed members with them, fell on the skirt wearers and stripped them down to their bloomers.

"It was done in all seriousness," said Mrs. Langdon. "The club's rules are made to be kept and not to be broken. Why did we take off the skirts in public? For no other reason but to make examples of the offenders. They publicly defied our rules and were punished accordingly."—*American Wheelman*.

DON'TS FOR WOMEN RIDERS

Don't be a fright.
Don't faint on the road.
Don't wear a man's cap.
Don't wear tight garters.
Don't forget your toolbag.
Don't attempt a "century."
Don't coast. It is dangerous.
Don't criticise people's "legs."
Don't boast of your long rides.
Don't wear loud hued leggings.
Don't cultivate a "bicycle face."
Don't refuse assistance up a hill.
Don't wear clothes that don't fit.
Don't "talk bicycle" at the table.

Don't neglect a "light's out" cry.
Don't wear jewelry while on a tour.
Don't race. Leave that to the scorchers.
Don't imagine everybody is looking at you.
Don't go to church in your bicycle costume.
Don't wear laced boots. They are tiresome.
Don't keep your mouth open on dirty roads.
Don't converse while in a scorching position.
Don't go out after dark without a male escort.
Don't contest the right of way with cable cars.
Don't wear a garden party hat with bloomers.
Don't wear white kid gloves. Silk is the thing.
Don't chew gum. Exercise your jaws in private.
Don't tempt fate by riding too near the curbstone.
Don't ask, "What do you think of my bloomers?"
Don't use bicycle slang. Leave that to the boys.
Don't discuss bloomers with every man you know.
Don't think you look as pretty as every fashion plate.
Don't go out without a needle, thread and thimble.
Don't allow your dear little Fido to accompany you.
Don't scratch a match on the seat of your bloomers.
Don't try to have every article of your attire "match."
Don't let your golden hair be hanging down your back.
Don't appear in public until you have learned to ride well.
Don't try to ride in your brother's clothes "to see how it feels."
Don't overdo things. Let cycling be a recreation, not a labor.
Don't ignore the laws of the road because you are a woman.
Don't throw your legs over the handle bar and coast down hill.
Don't scream if you meet a cow. If she sees you first, she will run.
Don't cultivate everything that is up to date because you ride a wheel.
Don't emulate your brother's attitude if he rides parallel with the ground.
Don't undertake a long ride if you are not confident of performing it easily.
Don't appear to be up on "records" and "record smashing." That is sporty.—*New York World*.

Illinois State Journal, July 15, 1895.

INCIDENT FROM THE PAST

Sept. 16. . . . Camped for the night on a farm, where we found the folks at home. The old gentleman, Mr. Brown, was suffering with diarrhea. I gave him two opium pills, which greatly pleased him; his daughter sold me jeans for a pair of pants, which in turn pleased me much better.

Sept. 17.—Had a pretty jolly night of it, taking it altogether, tragic and comic. Mr. Collier being sick, we got permission for him to sleep on the floor at Mr. Brown's house, with me to take care of him. Mr. B's family consists of himself, aged 65; his wife, 21; and daughter, 18. I asked the ladies to make my jeans into pants—they agreed, and went to work. I put my patient to sleep, and drew up my chair to entertain the fair needle women; they were full of life, and kept their tongues as busy as their fingers. Towards midnight I grew drowsy and laid down by Collier, had slept but a short time, when I was shaken violently by the shoulder; looking up I saw the young wife bending over me. She was saying: "Doctor, doctor, get up, that old man has got the cramp." I arose as quickly as possible and went to their assistance. They had the old fellow down on the floor, and were rubbing his hands and chest. "Doctor," said the wife, "What is good for the cramp?" I told her to give him some turpentine and red pepper. She fixed it, and made him drink it, when the old man, thinking he was going to die, commenced: "Oh children, hover around yer old dad—he's got but a few minits longer to stay on this ere yearth—yes, yer old dad—is—about—gone. Oh God Almighty, send salvation down to my soul—oh—oh—oh!" Wife and daughter were screaming too, and we began to think that our *opium pills* were going to play the dickens. A neighbor man came in, the wife asked him if he could do anything for the old man? He told her to give him some narvine tea, and while she was making it the old fellow gave another yell, declaring he was going to die. I told him there was no danger as long as he was able to make such a noise. We then gave him the tea, after which he vomited freely and was easier. All becoming quiet I hunted my place on the floor again much amused at having played the doctor; but it occurred to me that it might not be so funny under other circumstances. Suppose a lady

was in question, who needed the prompt attendance of medical aid; the complexion of the joke would be considerably changed.

This morning the ladies finished my pants, the legs look like two meal bags; I would be lost in them. A friend comes nearer fitting them, so he has taken them off my hands. Mr. Brown is doing well, and this morning when I asked for the amount of our bill, he replied: "Not a cent, that if we were willing to balance accounts he was, and that I was the only doctor who has done him any good during the last three months."

GRIFFIN FROST, *Camp and Prison Journal* (1867), 67-68.

NEWS AND COMMENT

A publication likely to be of ever-increasing value is the *Guide to Public Vital Statistics Records in Illinois*, recently published by the Illinois Historical Records Survey. Prior to 1877 there was no systematic recording of births and deaths in Illinois; from 1877 until 1915 records of birth and death were kept only by county clerks. The status of such records, as well as the records of marriages and divorces, is described in the *Guide* for every county in the state, and other useful information regarding vital statistics is also included.



George Swank, of the staff of the *Galva News*, has long been interested in the history of Henry County. His interest led him to write and print in the *News* a series of articles on many phases of county history—the stories of the various towns and cities, Indian trails, the railroads, agricultural societies, and other matters. Now he has reprinted the articles in an eighty-three page booklet entitled *Historic Henry County*, which is a distinct addition to the historiography of northern Illinois. The only criticism that can be made of the publication is the small number of copies printed—only thirty-five.



The St. Louis Public Library has just published, in mimeographed form, a complete list of genealogical material in its collection. The compiler is Georgia Gambrill of the library's reference department; the title of the publication is *Genealogical Material and Local Histories in the St. Louis Public Library*. Approximately 4,800 titles are listed.



Latest volume in the series, *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, is Volume IX, and it embodies the official papers of the Terri-

tory of Orleans, 1803-1812¹ as those papers are found in the federal archives in Washington. Extending to more than a thousand pages, this is the largest single volume published to date. Presenting historical material of all kinds, most of it hitherto unpublished, the compilation is of vast importance to the history of the great region which Thomas Jefferson purchased from France in 1803. The volume has been ably edited by Clarence E. Carter.



"Ohio has been strangely backward in the preservation of her historical materials and in the writing of her history. Most volumes hitherto published and dealing with the history of the State either suffer from the limitations imposed by the necessity of compressing the narrative within the limits of a one-volume textbook treatment, or they deal with only part of the period, fail to meet the standards of modern scientific historical scholarship or to set the history of Ohio in its proper perspective, or exalt local pride at the sacrifice of impartial, scholarly judgment and method."

That is not the criticism of an outsider. Rather is it the first paragraph of the statement with which Carl Wittke, editor of the *History of the State of Ohio*, introduces the first of six volumes which will undoubtedly meet or excel the highest existing standards.

Volume One, *The Foundations of Ohio*, by Beverly W. Bond, Jr., professor of history at the University of Cincinnati, has just been published by the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.² Following chapters on the physical features of the Ohio country and on the Indians of the region contributed by Dr. H. C. Shetrone, Dr. Bond carries the narrative from the advent of the first French explorers to the admission of Ohio to the Union in 1803. Foreign intrigue, the growth of white settlement, manners and customs of the pioneers, the development of transportation, the origins and expansion of self-government—these and many other topics receive full and scholarly treatment in his pages.

The Foundations of Ohio not only meets every demand of modern scholarship; it measures up to a high standard of bookmaking. Not

¹ *Territorial Papers of the United States: The Territory of Orleans, 1803-1812*; Vol. IX. Government Printing Office, \$3.00.

² Columbus, Ohio. \$5.00.

only is the format excellent; a large number of illustrations and twenty-two maps embellish and clarify the well-written, well-printed text.



The Voyageur's Highway, by Grace Lee Nute,³ curator of manuscripts of the Minnesota Historical Society, might well be taken as a model for regional studies of its kind. An account, historical and descriptive, of the upper Minnesota lake country and its people, it combines every desirable quality—a popular approach, careful scholarship, breadth of scope, good format, excellent illustrations, and low price. The book is an example of what can be done when an able professional historian turns her hand to popularization.



Miss Effie A. Lansden, widely known librarian and member of a pioneer family of Cairo, Illinois, died in that city on May 29. She had been a member of the staff of the Cairo Public Library for nearly forty years, since 1922 holding the position of librarian.

Miss Lansden was very active in library circles throughout state and nation. She served as president of the Illinois Library Association in 1916 and 1920 and at the time of her death was a member of the Advisory Committee of that organization. She had been a member of the Illinois State Historical Society since 1923. Her immediate survivors are three sisters—Mrs. Robert Peck Bates, Chicago, and the Misses Emma and Margaret Lansden, Cairo; and two brothers—John M. Lansden, New York City, and David S. Lansden, Cairo.



At the annual meeting of the Aurora Historical Society held on June 9, the following officers and directors were elected: Frank G. Plain, president; Miss Marion Strossman and Charles P. Burton, vice-presidents; Mrs. Edna W. Tanner, secretary; LeGrande T. Fowler, treasurer; and George Simpson, J. W. Meyer and T. J. Merrill, directors.

³ Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul. 50 cents.

Mrs. Alice Applegate, curator of the historical museum, reported that a record system similar to that used in many large museums had been introduced during the past year. Two full-time research workers are employed in cataloging and preparing for display the various articles included in the museum. The Society hopes to secure funds for micro-filming and indexing old newspapers within the near future.

The museum is open to the public on Sundays, holidays and Wednesday afternoons, and also at other times by appointment. Clarence R. Smith, professor of physics at Aurora College, is director of the museum.

The annual Old Settlers' picnic, sponsored by the Society, was held on August 27. Jack Holslag was chairman of the committee on arrangements.



Mrs. Margaret T. Grove, Princeton, was re-elected president of the Bureau County Historical Society at the annual meeting on June 2. Other officers elected at the annual meeting include: Miss Grace Bryant, Princeton, vice-president; Ward K. Schori, Tiskilwa, secretary; F. S. Fowler, Princeton, treasurer; T. A. Fenoglio, Princeton, custodian; and Cliff Thompson, honorary custodian. Three directors were re-elected: R. L. Russell, Daniel D. Russell and Mrs. Margaret T. Grove, all of Princeton; Mrs. Ina S. Hoover, Princeton, and H. F. Herbolsheimer, Malden, are new directors.

A membership campaign will be started by the Society this fall, with Laurence Deets, Princeton, in charge. Reports made at the annual meeting showed a total of eighty-eight members at that time. The membership fee is \$1.00.

The report on the historical museum, given at the June meeting, indicated that more than eight hundred persons visited the museum during the preceding twelve months. It is located in the courthouse and is open to the public every afternoon.

Some fifty grist mill stones were recently donated to the Society by Harry Elliott. They were used at the mill operated by his grandfather, William Elliott, on Bureau Creek, more than a hundred years ago. Robert Elliott, father of the donor, later used the stones for a doorstep at his home.

The one hundredth anniversary of the Carlyle Presbyterian Church was celebrated on June 19-22. The church was organized in the office of O. B. Nichols in the Clinton County Courthouse on June 19, 1841.



The will made by Charles Burrall Pike, late president of the Chicago Historical Society, directed that all of his real estate except his homes should go to the Chicago Historical Society. The property, valued at \$350,000 consists principally of business buildings near the Chicago Loop. The bequest, to be held in trust, will be known as the Charles Burrall Pike and Frances Alger Pike fund.

Officers of the Society elected at the meeting of the trustees on May 14 include the following: Joseph M. Cudahy, president; Frank J. Loesch, first vice-president; James M. Hopkins, second vice-president; Cecil Barnes, treasurer; Arthur J. Jennett, assistant treasurer; and L. Hubbard Shattuck, secretary and director.



The Chicago Lawn Historical Society held its annual tea at the Chicago Lawn Library on May 18. The affair was open to everyone interested in the history of the community. This organization is guided by the following group of officers: Richard O. Helwig, president; Mrs. Frank Richards, honorary life president; J. Stanley Fagerstrom, first vice-president; Mrs. Elmer H. Bowlby, second vice-president; John E. Wallin, third vice-president; Miss Mae Blair, fourth vice-president; Mrs. B. J. Glidewell, treasurer; Miss Ursula Courtney, secretary-historian.



Junior historical societies in the eighth grades of Englewood (Chicago) schools are being organized this fall under the auspices of the Englewood Historical Association. The new plan is already in operation at Wentworth School, under the direction of Claude L. Williams, principal, in co-operation with the social science instructors and the student council. Pupils will get information about old residents of Englewood and will write the histories of old homes

and unused store buildings. They will also study the problems of maintaining public buildings and grounds and collect material for historical displays. Reports on the progress made by each group will be given at the May and December meetings of the Englewood Historical Association.

The following officers were elected at the May meeting of the latter organization: Willis E. Tower, president; Kenneth Goodspeed, first vice-president; James Fry, second vice-president; Frank Bailey, third vice-president; Mrs. E. H. Barker, fourth vice-president; Mrs. Viola Neeson, secretary and historian; and Mrs. Louis Morey, treasurer. Directors include William H. McDonnell, the Rev. Donald Harrington, J. F. McFarland, Florence Deneen and Minnie Clark.



An Historical Sketch of Ravenswood and Lake View is an attractive booklet summarizing the history of two of the many independent communities that have been merged with Chicago. The author, Miss Helen Zatterberg, is Secretary-Treasurer of the Ravenswood-Lake View Historical Association, for the members of which this booklet was prepared.



When the South Shore Historical Society (Chicago) met on May 15 the guest speaker was Clark K. Kuebler, assistant professor of classics at Northwestern University, who spoke on "Citadel of Democracy." The South Shore group, though only five years old, has a membership of 373.



The West Side Historical Society (Chicago) held its spring meeting on May 19. The first hour of the program was devoted to reminiscences of early days in the community by Mrs. Louise Riehm, John E. Scully and Dennis Ryan. Following this part of the evening's entertainment, speeches were made by Morgan A. Collins and Walter J. Kelly. Harlow Grant was chairman of the meeting.

The Indian mounds along the DesPlaines River and the restored mill at Fullersburg were visited by members of the Society on May 25.

The Historical Society of Woodlawn (Chicago) arranged a patriotic program in May, with veterans of three wars as guests. Ezra Peebles, who fought in the Civil War, gave the pledge to the flag, and Marcus Mullen, Spanish-American War veteran, and Al V. Piquerney, past commander of Woodlawn American Legion post, made speeches. Mrs. Netta B. Goss, recording secretary of the Society, gave a talk on "The History of Memorial Day." Musical selections and a social hour completed the program.



When the casual visitor to Chicago's South Side walks east on Sixty-third Street from Cottage Grove Avenue he is unaware of any difference between the region he is entering and that which he has left behind. If he inquires, however, he will be told that he is in Woodlawn—a district which extends from Cottage Grove to Jackson Park and from Sixtieth to Sixty-seventh streets—and he is likely to find that many of those who live and work there have a strong sense of community identity. Woodlawn, like so many other sections of Chicago, was once a separate settlement, and the tradition of independence, or particularity, still persists.

Woodlawn's first settler was James Wadsworth, who built a large frame house at what is now Sixty-third Street and Woodlawn Avenue in 1859. For twenty years there were few other settlers in the neighborhood, but in the early eighties the community began to grow. The Illinois Central Railroad extended suburban service, a post office was established, and the Village of Hyde Park, of which Woodlawn was a part, gave the community a certain measure of autonomy. Annexation to Chicago took place in 1889, and the World's Columbian Exposition of four years later brought a heavy influx of population, but Woodlawn still cherishes a history that sets it apart from the great city. That history is summarized in a booklet, *Early History of Woodlawn*, by Marian L. Bragdon, recently published by the Historical Society of Woodlawn.



The DeKalb County Historical Society, inactive for some years, is making plans for reorganization this fall. Proposed activities of

the Society were discussed at a meeting at the home of R. J. McAllister in DeKalb on July 13.



A monument marking the site of a village and burial ground of the Potawatomi Indians was unveiled at Forest Home Cemetery in Forest Park on May 25. Paul Strayer designed the seven-foot granite monument, which has a bas-relief carving of an Indian on horseback. Guido Rebechini was the sculptor and the monument was donated by the Forest Home Cemetery Company. At the dedicatory program, Dr. S. S. Fuller, president of the Riverside Historical Society, presided, and J. C. Miller, vice-president of the West Side Historical Society (Chicago) was the narrator. Unveiling of the monument was in charge of the Boy Scouts of Forest Park District.



The Grundy County centennial was celebrated at Morris on June 12-15. An elaborate pageant, "Grundy Sees A Century," was staged every evening with 400 people taking part in the spectacle. Miss Ruth Peterson, Morris, was crowned as centennial queen on June 12. Dwight Green, governor of Illinois, and James J. Davis, senator of Pennsylvania, were the speakers at the afternoon program on June 13. On June 14 a parade of seventy-five floats depicted the historical, agricultural, industrial and commercial growth of Grundy County. Paul Hatcher was the parade chairman and S. J. Holderman was general chairman of the entire celebration.



Kendall County is also observing its one hundredth anniversary this year. A celebration was held at Yorkville, county seat, on July 25, 26 and 27. The historical parade, showing various steps in the county's progress, was the highlight of the entire festivities. Jacob Armbruster, chairman of the general committee, was assisted by Lewis Meyer, R. D. Arundale and LaVerne A. Hanson. Numerous supporting committees arranged various features of the three-day celebration. Miss Josephine Coselman of Bristol was centennial queen.

The *Aurora Daily Beacon-News* paid tribute to the one hundredth anniversary of Kendall County by publishing a fifty-page centennial edition on July 23. In addition to the regular features of the paper, special sections containing articles on the history of the county and also on individual towns, villages and townships were included. The history of the county's chief business and agricultural interests as well as the story of its religious and educational life was also reviewed. Numerous illustrations were effectively used.



The Macon County Historical Society held its annual election of officers on June 12. Frank Sawyer was named president, Mrs. W. W. Doane, vice-president, Miss Mabel Richmond, secretary and Miss Clara Baker, treasurer. A paper on the Civil War period in Macon County was read at this meeting by Mrs. Maude Marcott. It had been prepared by the late Reverend N. M. Baker, a chaplain in the Union Army, shortly before his death in 1922.



The semi-annual meeting of the Madison County Historical Society was held on June 7 at Edwardsville. The Reverend George M. Link, naturalist at Marquette State Park, and J. A. Landon, Springfield, were the speakers. Joan Kinsel and Virginia Wayne sang two duets and the Reverend F. C. Stelzriede gave the invocation. E. W. Burroughs planned the program and H. P. S. Smith, president of the Society, was chairman.



Keith Mossman of Vinton, Iowa, was awarded first prize of \$15.00 in the 1941 essay contest sponsored by the Morgan County Historical Society. Mossman, a member of the class of 1942 at Illinois College, wrote on the history of Jacksonville during the Civil War. Second prize of \$10.00 went to Mrs. Mary K. Armstrong of Chandlerville who prepared a biography of Charles Elliott Lippincott, an early resident of Morgan County. The following papers were awarded honorable mention, each receiving \$5.00: "Descendants of the Pioneers" by Mrs. Otto Dorr, Chandlerville; "A History of the

Illinois School for the Deaf" by Mrs. Minnie W. Cleary; "David Prince: Pioneer Surgeon" by Miss Ardeen Black; "Sol Smith Russell and the Russell Family" by Miss Bertha Mason; and "The History of the Catholic Church in Jacksonville" by Miss Mary Gruber.



Election of officers was held at the May meeting of the Oak Park Historical Society. Thomas Doane was re-elected president. Other officers are Mrs. George W. White, first vice-president; J. C. Miller, second vice-president; Mrs. Adele H. Maze, third vice-president and historian; and Mrs. Frank Stevens, secretary and treasurer. Directors elected at this time are: Louis S. Gibson, Joseph A. Dedouch and H. S. Vaile.

A complete file of the pictures of all village presidents from 1902 to the present has been presented to the Society by James A. Howe.



The Peoria Historical Society held its annual election of officers on May 19. Harry L. Spooner is president, A. R. Buis, secretary and Emma E. Shriner, treasurer; E. E. East, Thomas H. Detweiller and G. R. Barnett are directors. At this meeting a resolution was passed, opposing the changes in names of streets and roads in the city.

The Peoria Historical Society has allied itself with the Peoria Old Settlers' Association, Art Institute and Academy of Science in an effort to establish a civic museum where the collections of all four organizations may be displayed. A committee with representatives from each group has been appointed to study the question and make recommendations.



Newest among local historical societies in Illinois is the St. Charles Historical Society. The following officers were elected on July 9: Ralph Richmond, president; H. B. Jordan, vice-president; Mrs. H. H. Schneck, recording secretary; Mrs. H. E. Wells, corresponding secretary; and C. Jay Marvin, treasurer. A board of governors, named at a previous meeting, includes I. G. Langum, Colonel E. J. Baker and Mr. and Mrs. L. J. Norris.

Historical points of interest in St. Clair County were discussed at a meeting of the St. Clair County Historical Society at Belleville on May 13. The following papers were read: "New Design" by Charles F. Gergen; "The Belleville Area" by L. N. "Nick" Perrin; "The Lebanon Area" by Ruth A. Leinesch; and "The John Mes-singer Cemetery" by Calvin D. Johnson. Four reels of color moving pictures on "State Parks and Memorials of Illinois" concluded the program.



A historical field trip was arranged by the Southern Illinois Historical Society and the Department of History at Southern Illinois Normal University on June 28. The pilgrimage was made from Carbondale to Old Shawneetown and New Shawneetown with stops along the way at Marion, Equality, Cave-in-Rock and Hickory Hill. The committee in charge of the trip included: John I. Wright, Carbondale (chairman), I. Clark Davis, Benton, Mrs. Nannie Parks, Marion, and Dr. Richard L. Beyer, Carbondale.



Toulon, Illinois held its centennial celebration on August 20, 21 and 22. A historical pageant was presented each night and many other entertainment features were also planned. The sixty-fourth annual reunion of the Stark County Old Settlers' Association was held on the second day of the celebration.



The Vermilion County Historical Society will be officially launched on October 1 in Danville. Members of the Century Club, the once active Half Century Club and Vermilion County members of the Illinois State Historical Society are chiefly responsible for its organization. When Mrs. Florence Swank entertained members of the Century Club at her home in Indianola on June 26 preliminary plans for founding the Society were made. Clint Clay Tilton, Danville, guest of honor on this occasion, explained the need of a county-wide group to assume responsibility for gathering and preserving important data regarding the pioneer history of the county. It is

hoped that a unit or chapter of the Society can be formed in each township.



The board of directors of the Winnebago County Historical Society held their midsummer meeting at Macktown Forest Preserve on July 12. The Reverend Claude W. Warren, pastor of the Old Stone Church at Rockton, impersonating Stephen Mack, and George and Donald Brayton, dressed as Indians, made a "surprise" visit during the afternoon. A picnic supper was served in the evening.



A total membership of 313 persons was reported at the annual meeting of the Winnetka Historical Society on May 13. This represents an increase of 110 during the preceding twelve months. The following officers were elected at this meeting: Sherman B. Orwig, president; Mrs. Myron B. Harshaw, vice-president; Mrs. Robert S. Burrows, secretary; Mrs. Lee S. Fetcher, treasurer, and Barrett Conway and Ralph M. Snyder, directors. The Society voted to put aside \$100 towards a fund for a permanent home and recommended that succeeding boards of directors take similar action. Preceding the business meeting a paper of reminiscences prepared by Mrs. Frank Fuller was read by Mrs. Walter N. Stuckslager.



Woodford County has been added to the list of Illinois counties which have passed the one-hundred year mark. A centennial celebration was held on July 30, 31 and August 1 at Eureka, county seat. The program included a parade and a historical pageant honoring prominent citizens in the county's history.

CONTRIBUTORS

Members of the Illinois Writers' Project chiefly responsible for the Camp Lincoln article are Clarence A. Fricke, Genevieve Rockwood and Sylvia Leibovit. . . . Grant Foreman, Muskogee, Okla-

homa, has written numerous books and articles on Indian and western history. He is the author of "Illinois and her Indians," published in *Papers in Illinois History*, 1939. . . . Mildred Eversole is Assistant Editor in the Illinois State Historical Library. . . . Don Russell is a member of the editorial staff of the *Chicago Daily News*.

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THE RAISING OF UNION FORCES IN ILLINOIS DURING THE CIVIL WAR*

BY ARETAS A. DAYTON

I

ILLINOIS during the Civil War was, as it is today, politically divided into upstate and downstate. The upstate area was preponderantly Republican and the latter quite solidly Democratic. Upstate Illinois during the war years remained definitely loyal to the Union, while the downstate segment retained a definitely pro-southern attitude. This sectionalism, which became so apparent in Illinois during the war years, is directly traceable to the early settlement of Illinois.

The northernmost counties were "settled almost entirely by immigrants from New England, and the Free States." In the election of 1860 this sector gave Lincoln a decided majority of the presidential votes cast. It was here particularly that abolitionist doctrines were to find nourishment during the Civil War.

Southern Illinois was the recipient of early migrations from Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and the Carolinas. As late as 1840, at least three-fourths of the population of Macon County were emigrants from the southern states. The people of southern Illinois, because of social, family, and other ties with their south-

* This paper is adapted from the thesis submitted by the author in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy in the Department of History at the University of Illinois in 1940.

ern homelands, retained a pro-southern attitude, which was to become so important a factor in Illinois during the war years.

The foreign population of Illinois was composed largely of Irish, residing in the largest towns, and Germans, many of whom were rapidly coming into possession of the unimproved lands owned by the descendants of the early French settlers near Belleville and in the Mississippi bottoms. The Germans, especially, were "thoroughly" patriotic to the Union cause.

On the evening of April 15, 1861, Governor Yates received a message from Simon Cameron, secretary of war, calling for six regiments for immediate service. Adjutant General Thomas S. Mather, the following day, issued Governor Yates's proclamation calling into service six regiments of state militia. When the requisition was made, the military force of Illinois existed largely on paper. There were neither brigades, regiments nor battalions.¹ There were hardly thirty militia companies in the entire state, and they were located largely in the cities, where drill was occasionally held only "for exercise and amusement."² Such was the state of preparedness in Illinois when the call to arms was received.

Governor Yates immediately went into action. On the same day, April 15, he issued a call for a special session of the legislature to convene April 23, for the purpose of passing a militia bill and placing the state on a "war footing." The legislature provided for the acceptance into state service of "ten regiments of infantry, one regiment of cavalry, and one battalion of

¹ Thomas J. McCormack, ed., *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner, 1809-1896* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1909), II: 121.

² *Report of Adj. Gen. of Ill.* (Rev. ed., Springfield, 1900), I: 6-7.

light artillery." It appropriated \$1,000,000 to defray the expenses of the ten regiments and an additional \$2,000,000 for war purposes. The legislature further demonstrated its patriotism by resolving: "That the faith, credit and resources of the State of Illinois, both in men and money, are pledged, to any amount and to every extent which the Federal Government may demand."³

The usual method of raising a company was the holding of community mass meetings. Such a meeting was held at Galena on April 16, under the chairmanship of Ulysses S. Grant. "Earnest and eloquent appeals" were made by E. B. Washburne and John A. Rawlins. Some twenty-six recruits were the result.⁴ An "immense gathering of citizens at the old Republican Wigwam" in Chicago served its purpose well. "A number of young men volunteered."⁵ So tense is patriotic excitement, exclaimed the *Illinois State Journal*, "that a hundred thousand men are ready . . . to honor the call from this state."⁶ Mass meetings, in great numbers, were held over the state.

Business in the principal cities slowed perceptibly. In Aurora and Ottawa "business of all kinds . . . [was] at a standstill." Both the circuit and superior courts of Chicago adjourned *sine die*, that "judges, lawyers, clients, jurymen, and bailiffs might devote themselves to the cause of their country."⁷

By April 16, the news of military enrollment and drill resounded "from every hamlet in Illinois." The

³ *Ill. Sen. Jour.*, 22nd G. A., 2 sess., pp. 57-58. The vote on the issue was unanimous.

⁴ Augustus L. Chetlain, *Recollections of Seventy Years* (Galena, Ill., 1899), 69-70.

⁵ *Prairie Farmer*, April 25, 1861.

⁶ *Illinois State Journal*, April 15, 1861.

⁷ *Aurora Beacon*, April 18, 1861; *Chicago Tribune*, April 23, 1861.

"Springfield Grays," commanded by Captain John Cook, tendered their services to the Governor on April 15, being the first company to do so. The spirited music of the fife and drum corps again aroused the patriot as it had in '76. One man was reported to have walked twenty-eight miles to enlist. State's Attorney Smith D. Atkins, of Stephenson County, left the courtroom when trying a case to sign the enlistment roll, becoming the first volunteer from his county to enlist as a private.⁸

Banks and railroads were not hesitant in offering their services to the state. The former at once placed at the disposal of the state treasury large sums of cash to meet the temporary expenses of organizing state troops until the legislature could make appropriation. The Marine Bank of Chicago proffered \$200,000; the Springfield banks \$1,000,000; and the Quincy Savings Bank \$20,000.⁹ The Illinois Central Railroad placed its entire facilities at the disposal of the government.

The President's call of May 3 for additional troops was greeted with hilarity; 200 companies at once tendered their services. The enlistment and formation of new companies continued unabated. Over thirty thousand men had offered their services and as many more were ready to do so. "It is almost impossible," exclaimed the *Ottawa Free Trader*, "for us to keep track of the military companies formed and forming."¹⁰

Governor Yates was in a dilemma. He was reluctant to accept a surplus of volunteers because of the heavy expense which would necessarily be borne by the state

⁸ *Chicago Tribune*, April 19, 1861; D. Lieb Ambrose, *History of the Seventh Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry* (Springfield, 1868), 5; Smith D. Atkins, "Patriotism of Northern Illinois," *Trans. of the Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, 1911 (Springfield, 1913), 81.

⁹ *Illinois State Journal*, April 20, 24, 1861; E. L. Kimball, "Richard Yates," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XXIII (April, 1930), 32.

¹⁰ *Ottawa Free Trader*, June 1, 1861.

until, if and when, they would be accepted by the War Department. Yet thousands were clamoring for acceptance into Illinois regiments.

The Governor vigorously petitioned the War Department to accept all Illinois regiments tendered; Cameron received a telegram of June 21 from Yates urging him to accept ten full regiments: "They can be mustered as soon as mustering officer is able to do it. Do accept them."¹¹ Companies, some having been raised at personal expense, solicited Gustave Koerner to use his political influence in getting them accepted. Many Illinois companies, unable to gain admission into either the state or national forces, entered Missouri regiments; 10,000 volunteers were estimated to have made their departure from Illinois. Seemingly, political influence was a prerequisite in getting a company accepted. Upon the "most urgent request" of Simon Cameron, secretary of war, the "Sturges Rifles" organization of Chicago was accepted. The President himself requested that Captain Van Horn's company be included in the Hecker Regiment.¹²

The Union disaster at Bull Run, July 21, 1861, electrified the North. It necessitated a definite change in the policy of the administration with regard to the acceptance of volunteers. Congress immediately passed acts authorizing the chief executive to receive 500,000 men into the military service. Action became the keynote. No longer was it thought that the South could be coerced in ninety days.

¹¹ *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1889), III ser., I: 285.

¹² Knobelsdorff to Koerner, July 15, 1861, Lyman Trumbull MSS (Library of Congress); *Report of Adj. Gen. of Ill.* (Rev. ed.), I: 11; *Illinois State Journal*, May 13, 1861; *Chicago Tribune*, June 3, 1861.

Yates, having been advised that additional troops were being received, telegraphed Cameron on July 23 that Illinois desired to tender thirteen additional regiments of infantry, three of cavalry, and one battalion of light artillery. "Illinois has the right to do her full share . . . and insists that you will respond favorably." Cameron, by order of the President, wired his acceptance on July 25, and urged that the men be sent forward with all possible dispatch: "Time is more valuable than numbers of regiments."¹³ A total of 512 companies of infantry, 22 of artillery, and 102 of cavalry had been tendered, from which to choose 13 regiments, or 130 infantry companies. "Thousands of the sturdy sons of Illinois" who had been disappointed in the first two calls now rushed in their claims for acceptance.¹⁴

The months of July and August witnessed a decided slowing down in recruiting. By late August volunteering had so slackened that Yates considered it necessary to issue a patriotic appeal for troops. He reluctantly admitted to Cameron: "Apathy is stealing over even Illinois."¹⁵

Until then enlistments had progressed fairly well. Two months previous, companies were vying to be first. Men who had been unemployed as a result of the economic derangement caused by the early months of the war had already enlisted. But "the yeomanry and burghers evince[d] little disposition" to enter the ranks. As early as July 4, the Kane County supervisors, to stimulate recruiting, appropriated \$3,000 for the purchase of horses and equipment for any cavalry company

¹³ *Offic. Rec.*, III ser., I: 343, 349.

¹⁴ *Ottawa Free Trader*, Aug. 17, 1861; *Belleville Democrat*, Aug. 3, 1861.

¹⁵ *Offic. Rec.*, III ser., I: 500.

that would organize within the county.¹⁶ Two months earlier would have witnessed no such necessity.

The War Department's authorization of individuals to raise regiments greatly retarded Governor Yates in his progress at recruiting. Numerous skeleton organizations were created which caused unnecessary competition and resulted in regiments being unable to raise their full complement. The recipient of a permit to raise a regiment would surround himself with influential men, promising those who raised companies a commission. A prospective officer then "circulates a paper, gets a few names and reports his company ready; they go to their rendezvous and are too few to be received as a company, . . . [they then] disbanded or . . . [were] taken to fill up other companies." A "multiplicity of captains & lieutenants & dearth of privates" was the result.¹⁷

Various were the causes which prevailed to dull recruiting in the summer of 1861. The policy of the War Department in accepting regiments was most disconcerting. A regiment might be accepted one week, rejected the next, then later accepted. Such vacillation could only brew discontent, and was marked by a notable withdrawal of volunteers from companies organized but not yet mustered.

The type of officers foisted upon the militia companies served to discourage recruiting and the re-enlistment of the ninety-day men. Though volunteers were promised a fair election of officers upon arrival at rendezvous, often this privilege was denied. Rather than submit to incompetent and obnoxious officers, a whole company

¹⁶ *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 11, 1861; *Aurora Beacon*, July 4, 1861.

¹⁷ *Alton Telegraph*, Sept. 20, 1861; G. M. McConnell to Yates, Aug. 14, 1861, Yates MSS (Ill. State Historical Library, Springfield).

sometimes refused to sign the muster roll and returned home.

A great obstacle to recruiting in 1861 was the poverty of the soldiers' families and this became increasingly important as the war progressed and the cost of living rose. Men were often ready to accept the call if their families were provided for. Various agencies at once pledged financial support. The sum of \$4,000 was subscribed at Decatur in two hours. County supervisors and city councils, often meeting in special sessions, voted thousands of dollars. Physicians of Decatur not only pledged themselves to care for the families of the volunteers free of charge, but also agreed to provide medicines. In response to the seriousness of the situation, the Secretary of War decided to carry out an act of Congress authorizing soldiers to allot their pay to their families. With the entire monthly salary of the private, which amounted to fifty cents a day, plus a bounty of \$100—to be paid at the end of the war—a family could hardly have been provided with the bare necessities.

Nevertheless, Illinois actively responded to the calls of the President in 1861. The state at that time had approximately 342,000 men of military age, ranging from eighteen to forty-five. With a population of 1,700,000, Illinois was reported, by October, to have sent more troops to the field than New York, with a population of over 4,000,000; "and more in proportion to her voters than any other state in the Union." Under the acts of July and August, 1861, Illinois was credited with furnishing a total of 81,952 three-year men; this was a surplus of 34,167 above the quota of the state.¹⁸

¹⁸ *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 7, Sept. 19, 1861; *Rockford Republican*, Oct. 10, 1861; *Offic. Rec.*, III ser., IV: 1,264.

The question of arms was a vexatious problem to the administration and the Illinois war governor. Men from Illinois enlisted with the expectation of receiving the best rifles; instead, the muskets were largely of European make: "The barrels . . . [were] crooked & untrue. The locks . . . [were] irregular & sometimes worse than [*sic*] useless, the balls . . . illfitting," wrote an Illinois trooper.¹⁹ Many men purchased their own muskets, while others would have joined the service had they been in position to furnish their own equipment.

When war came the federal government was totally unprepared for the emergency; there was neither a co-ordinated policy of recruitment, nor were there the necessary provisions and accouterments to equip an army such as was called into the service. Under these conditions, the high spirit with which the news of Sumter was received in the Prairie State and the rush of men to volunteer had begun to waver by summer, and was about to flicker out by the close of 1861.

II

The failure of McClellan to capture Richmond, in the peninsular campaign of 1862, produced consternation in Washington. Secretary of War Stanton telegraphed Governor Yates that there was "no doubt but that the enemy, in great force was marching on Washington," and urged him to forward immediately "all volunteers and militia forces" in his state. Illinois, for the first time during the war, was in no position to answer the call. The order of December 3, 1861, which inaugurated the national recruiting system, had worked havoc with the recruiting organization of the Governor; and the order

¹⁹ Camm to Yates, Sept. 7, 1861, Yates MSS.

of April 3, 1862, which entirely suspended state recruiting, served to dissolve what remnants remained of the Yates organization.

Governor Yates at once set out to raise troops by issuing a patriotic appeal, especially for three-months men, to be used as a guard for the rebel prisoners who were being held at Camp Douglas, near Chicago. In this way the regiments of regulars, then retained for guard duty, could be sent directly to the front. The response to the request for three-months men was enthusiastic. By June 4, Illinois had mustered three full regiments for guard duty.

On July 1, 1862, President Lincoln announced a call for 300,000 three-year recruits. The Illinois quota, under this call, was 26,148 men. Recruiting was slow. From Chicago came the report: "There are six recruiting officers here and they will not average one per week."²⁰

A partial explanation for this disinclination to volunteer was the loss of men from the northern labor market, which had been caused by the flow of men to the Army, and in turn resulted in a considerable wage increase in civil pursuits. Men were reluctant to forsake high wages to accept the lower pay of the Army. However, this deficiency in pay was partially offset by a \$40 cash payment to the recruit upon being mustered into the service.

Governor Yates, on July 11, issued a vigorous proclamation to the citizens of the Prairie State again to respond patriotically to Lincoln's call for troops. But the urgent need of harvest labor curtailed enlistments in the rural areas. Advertisements appeared in the daily

²⁰ *Offic. Rec.*, III ser., II: 188 and V: 647; Charles Rowland to Yates, July 9, 1862, Yates MSS.

journals offering the "highest wages" to farm hands. Thousands of Illinois soldiers who had returned home laid aside their uniforms for the working attire of a farmer. The unwillingness of married men to join the service without definite assurance that adequate provision had been made for the support of their families, was again a hindrance to recruiting. Men were waiting, also, to see what additional pecuniary inducements the county and state might be prepared to offer. As a result, but two regiments of infantry were organized and mustered into service in Illinois during the month of July.²¹

On August 4, 1862, another call was made upon the governors for 300,000 additional volunteers to serve nine months. Any state which had not furnished its quota by August 15, was to make up the deficiency of volunteers by a special draft. Illinois was required to furnish a total of 52,296 men for the calls of July 1 and August 4.²²

The extraordinary patriotism of Illinois in raising troops for the August call was reminiscent of the April days of '61. Within forty-eight hours after the receipt of the new call, Waverly, a small town in Morgan County, had organized a company of 107 men without the aid of a recruiting officer. Winnebago County placed 1,000 men in the field in twenty days. Four-horse team wagons, bearing aloft the stars and stripes and loaded with volunteers, were a frequent scene on the streets of Rockford. A caravan of 163 wagons and about seven hundred persons accompanied two newly organized companies to Camp Butler, near Springfield.²³

²¹ *Chicago Tribune*, July 15, 1862; J. B. Richardson to Yates, July 20, 1862; Levi North to Yates, July 14, 1862; and F. A. Bartleson to Adj. Gen. Fuller, June 11, 1862 (Yates MSS); *Illinois State Journal*, July 31, 1862; *Ottawa Free Trader*, July 25, 1862.

²² *Offic. Rec.*, III ser., V: 647.

²³ *Illinois State Journal*, Aug. 8, 1862; *Rockford Republican*, Aug. 14, 1862; "An

The "broad prairies [of Illinois were] . . . in a blaze of patriotic excitement." Two newspapers were forced to discontinue publication because of the enlistment of entire staffs.²⁴ Liberal cash prizes were offered by individuals and organizations to companies which were first to volunteer.

Because the floating population of the state had previously enlisted, the men who filled the new levies came largely from the farms and factories; they represented the substantial citizens of the communities. "Farmers were in the midst of their harvests . . . over 50,000 of them left their harvests ungathered, their tools on their benches, the ploughs in the furrows . . . and before eleven days expired . . . both quotas were filled."²⁵ "The prompt and patriotic response . . . far exceeded the calculations" of the War Department. Provost Marshal General James B. Fry said: "The promptness with which these calls were responded to by this State is without parallel in the history of the war."²⁶ A total of 58,416 men was furnished by Illinois from July 1 to December 31. This included fifty-nine regiments of infantry and four batteries of artillery. Illinois furnished more recruits under these two calls than any state in the Union with the exception of New York.²⁷

The great impulse to enlistment, however, was the

Illinois Farmer During the Civil War: The Journal of John Edward Young," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XXVI (April-July, 1933), 101-102.

²⁴ *Joliet Signal*, Aug. 26, 1862; *Illinois State Journal*, Aug. 16, 1862. The two newspapers which were compelled to close were the *Canton Register* and the *Alton Telegraph*.

²⁵ *Report of Adj. Gen. of Ill.* (Rev. ed.), I: 19. A missionary from Illinois wrote concerning volunteering during the last quarter of 1862: "Thirty men, regular attendants on our services, have gone, taking the flower of the community, drawing quite largely on our church roll. The township in which our church is, counts 147 liable to the draft, and has now in the field or under marching orders 117 of these." *The Home Missionary*, Jan., 1863, p. 212.

²⁶ *Offic. Rec.*, III ser., II: 429 and V: 647.

²⁷ *Report of Adj. Gen. of Ill.*, 1861-1862, p. 37; *Offic. Rec.*, III ser., IV: 1264-65.

desire to avoid the draft. This instrument was held as a whip over men in the state who were physically fit for military service. It is difficult now to comprehend the degree of ignominy which was attached to conscription. A. H. Dalton, a Cook County supervisor, even preferred to vote any amount of money to secure recruits rather "than submit to the disgrace" of a draft.

Although Governor Yates did obtain the quota of recruits requested from Illinois during 1862 without resorting to conscription, success was attained only after encountering most serious opposition. The ease with which troops were raised fluctuated in proportion to the success of the armies in the field.

As a result of the Union disasters of the late summer and fall, at Manassas and Harper's Ferry, the frightful slaughter at Fredericksburg, and the bloody repulse of Sherman at Vicksburg, gloom and apprehension were everywhere apparent in Illinois. Both Governor Yates and Secretary of State O. M. Hatch feared that southern Illinois was on the precipice of a revolution, and implored Stanton to send General Palmer with four regiments there.

Another source of deep irritation was the effect of the closing of the Mississippi River to the commerce of Illinois, especially to the bulky produce of the prairie farmer. Governor Yates, in his message to the Illinois legislature on January 5, 1863, emphasized the necessity of opening the river to transportation; once opened, "western produce would probably command twice the price it now brings." Freight, as a result of closing the channel, had been largely diverted to the railroad. The latter, not being under the supervision of a commerce commission, charged what the traffic would bear. Be-

cause of exorbitant freight rates, farmers living ten or twenty miles from a railroad used ripe corn for fuel during the fall and winter of 1862-1863, it being cheaper at six cents a bushel than wood or coal at the current prices.²⁸ Republican governors expressed a prevailing fear that this discontent would ripen into a Northwest Confederacy.

The Emancipation Proclamation also had an important effect on recruiting. Thousands of men in Illinois, including Yates, felt that slavery was a cause of the war, and that to save the Union it must forever be eliminated. Yates vigorously supported the proclamation. On the other hand, there were thousands of Democrats in the state who were willing to support the Union cause as a secession measure only, and who became embittered toward Yates and the administration when abolition became one of the objectives of the war.

The resentment towards the Emancipation Proclamation, and the disaster of the Union forces at the front, coupled with the economic discontent of the agricultural interests which threatened to culminate in a Northwest Confederacy, did much to neutralize recruiting efforts in Illinois. A Democratic mouthpiece later remarked with considerable justification: "So long as the war was prosecuted for the restoration of the Union and not for the abolition of slavery, there was no necessity for a draft. The people left their . . . various occupations and enlisted under the banner of the Union."²⁹

By 1862 recruitment had lost its vigor and the call in July of that year met with a feeble response. But when President Lincoln issued a second proclamation for addi-

²⁸ G. W. Smith, "Generative Forces of Union Propaganda; A Study in Civil War Pressure Groups" (Ph. D. thesis, Univ. of Wis., 1939), 235.

²⁹ *Joliet Signal*, Aug. 23, 1864.

tional troops a month later and ordered that any deficiencies under the call would be raised by conscription, a new wave of enthusiasm swept the prairies of Illinois and the quota of the state was soon filled. When the next call for troops was issued in October, 1863, however, recruiting completely collapsed and it was only when it became apparent to the people of Illinois that a draft would probably be resorted to that the state responded to its obligation.

III

The laxity of state recruiting, together with the unsuccessful efforts of the Union forces during 1862, resulted in an attempt by Congress to bolster the manpower of the army by passing the enrollment act on March 3, 1863. The War Department had adopted a policy in 1862 of calling upon the states to order an enrollment of their arms-bearing population. In states unable to fill their quotas by volunteering, the governors were to order a draft to make good the deficiency. This policy was abandoned with the passage of the enrollment act, and the duties which had formerly been considered the prerogative of the governor were taken over by the War Department. The assignment of quotas and the apportionment of credits of the state to sub-districts were placed under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of War.³⁰

At the time the national conscription act was passed, Illinois was "in a state of feverish apprehension," and recruiting was at a standstill. "[T]hreats of resistance

³⁰ An excellent treatment of the enrollment act is to be found in Fred A. Shannon, *The Organization and Administration of the Union Army, 1861-1865* (Cleveland, 1928), I: 295-323.

and defiance to the provisions of the enrolment act . . . were freely made in various parts of the State."³¹ It was difficult to convince the public of the advisability of conscription as a war measure. Never before had such an act been placed upon the statute books of the United States. An outspoken Democratic journal of Illinois considered the act unconstitutional, and declared that it would "not stand the test of the judiciary."³²

The particular clause of the enrollment act which drew the ire of not only the Democratic press but that of labor as well, was the one which permitted persons of wealth to escape military service by either furnishing a substitute, or paying the \$300 commutation fee. "The abolition conscript bill," declared the *Quincy Herald*, "compels only poor men to go into the Army. . . . If a man is too poor to raise that much money, he is to be seized and carried off to be shot at by the rebels. . . . The poor men of the country . . . will not always tolerate these outrages upon their rights."³³ However, the "loyal political leaders" and pro-Lincoln journalists, "by judicious agitation," were partially able to reconcile the public to federal conscription.

The mechanics of the enrollment act called for a provost marshal general to be located at the national capital with an assistant provost marshal general in each of the Union states. Brigadier General Fry assumed the new position of provost marshal general on March 17, 1863. Lieutenant Colonel James Oakes of Detroit, Michigan, was appointed assistant provost marshal general for Illinois on April 25, 1863.

³¹ *House Exec. Docs.*, 39 Cong., 1 sess., Vol. IV, Doc. no. 1, Final Report by the Provost Marshal General, Part II (Washington, 1866), 32.

³² *Joliet Signal*, July 21, 1863.

³³ Quoted in the *Illinois State Journal*, Feb. 28, 1863.

Within two days of his appointment, Colonel Oakes had established his office in Springfield. Two small rooms at first sufficed for the operations of this department. By 1864 the duties of this office had so increased that new quarters were provided in a large brick structure containing fifteen rooms.

To facilitate and co-ordinate enrollment, Illinois was subdivided into thirteen military districts, corresponding to the thirteen congressional districts of the state with a provost marshal appointed for each district. Believing that small-area units would be better adapted for enrolling and drafting, the second revision of the enrollment, ordered on May 5, 1864, provided for a redivision of each military or congressional district into smaller units. A unit would vary in size from a county to a ward in a city.

The duties of the provost marshal were many and varied. In addition to supervising the enrollment of his district, he was to arrest deserters, oversee the examining and enlisting of recruits, and suppress any insurrections. Each was under the direct supervision of Colonel Oakes, and each carried the military rank of captain.

Having received "pressing instructions from Washington," Colonel Oakes ordered his staff of provost marshals on June 5, 1863, to convene their boards and to commence immediately the taking of the enrollment.³⁴ The enrollment board consisted of the district provost marshal, who served as chairman, and a commissioner and a surgeon.

It was essential that the enrollment should be as nearly perfect as human skill could make it, since enrollment lists were to provide the basis for ascertaining the

³⁴ *House Exec. Docs.*, 39 Cong., 1 sess., Vol. IV, Doc. no. 1, Pt. II, p. 2 ff.

quotas of the state and its constituent sub-districts. The method of taking the enrollment was very similar to that used in taking the census. Enrolling officers made a house-to-house canvass, securing information concerning certain individuals.

Inherent weaknesses within the enrollment act prevented the acquirement of a correct roll. A correct enrollment list included only those persons subject to call for military duty from the State of Illinois. The compensation was insufficient to attract a personnel qualified to perform so important a task as enrollment taking. Men could earn more than \$3.00 per day in their own business pursuits. Illinois at that time was largely rural and the maintenance of a horse and buggy, in addition to the board and lodging of the enrolling officer, would frequently equal the salary received.

Some counties experienced much difficulty in securing enrolling officers; this was especially true in the strong Democratic districts. Confederate sympathizers and deserters from the Union Army were numerous in southern Illinois and did not hesitate to use threats of violence against enrolling officers and their families.

In addition to the difficulty of obtaining competent enumerators, the attitude of the public toward the enrollment presented difficulty. Many individuals bluntly refused to answer any questions, while others gave fictitious names. The only alternative in such cases was to seek the desired information from a neighbor, who was perhaps no less antagonistic to the procedure. While the law made it the duty of the provost marshal's bureau to inscribe upon the roll the name of every person subject to draft, the statute did not compel any individual to answer questions which were propounded to him by

any of the enrolling officers.³⁵

Before the enrollment was completed, it was evident that a revision would be necessary. The provost marshal for the fifth district gave notice that 23,750 had been enrolled in his district, and that this was an exaggeration of at least 8,000 persons. "This is an error so grave . . . that its consequences cannot be estimated."³⁶ The district would be called upon to furnish a much greater portion of men for military service than its just quota. A correct enrollment meant that names must be genuine and must include only persons residing in Illinois subject to conscription; exemption was another matter.

Resistance to taking and revising the enrollment was open and menacing in the fifth (Peoria), sixth (Joliet), ninth (Mt. Sterling), eleventh (Olney), and thirteenth (Cairo) districts. The first enrollment, taken during the summer and fall of 1863, was made at a most inopportune time. The state was then being held under the threat of a draft. The draft riots of New York City had infected the disloyal elements of the Prairie State with a spirit of defiance. Rebellion seemed a certainty. Fortunately, Illinois was able to avoid the draft of 1863. The state militia was forced to exert every effort to secure the state enrollment, and could not have coped with the added exigency of conscription.³⁷

Resistance to the enrollment in Chicago, although not serious, centered largely about the boarding houses

³⁵ *Offic. Rec.*, III ser., V: 618.

³⁶ Report of pro. mar., 5th dist., Ill., Vol. 80 (MS, War Dep't., National Archives).

³⁷ Col. Oakes, in relating the precarious situation to Prov. Mar. Gen. Fry, wrote: "The relation of New York to the whole country as the great commercial metropolis and center of political influence is so peculiar, that the suppression of the Riot . . . is . . . an absolute necessity . . . 'everywhere, or nowhere,' is . . . already heard in our streets." (Prov. mar. gen., letters rec'd., III, 0 38, 1863, Nat. Arch.).

occupied by the Irish. A mob assaulted and almost killed an enrolling officer in the street when he attempted to assist a United States marshal in arresting persons who refused to be enrolled. The resistance offered in Cook County was largely in the form of refusing to give information to the enrolling officers. Despite the fact that the law did not compel men to answer questions asked by an enrolling officer, about twenty persons were arrested for this offense.

In the second, third, eighth, and twelfth districts, with headquarters at Marengo, Dixon, Springfield, and Alton, the enrollment proceeded with little disturbance. In the second district no opposition was encountered, and not a single arrest was made in connection with enrollment taking.³⁸

Provost Marshal James Woodruff of the fourth district (stationed at Quincy) met with organized resistance in Hancock County during July, 1863. On the night of June 28, bands of armed men entered the homes of enrollment officers, and with cocked revolvers leveled at their heads, the officers surrendered the enrollment lists which were nearly completed. On July 2, a company of the 16th Illinois Cavalry was sent to Carthage, in Hancock County, under the command of Major Frederick Schaumbeck; with the assistance of a cavalry force the enrollment was carried out.

Although resistance was encountered in the fifth, sixth, and seventh districts, with headquarters at Peoria, Joliet, and Danville, there is no indication of any serious consequence. A minor incident took place at Danville where an officer and fifty men were rushed on the night

³⁸ Prov. mar. gen., letters rec'd., III, O 30, 1863; report of prov. mar. gen., 1st dist., Ill., VII, 576-77; and report of prov. mar., 2nd dist., Ill., Vol. 80 (Nat. Arch.).

RECRUITS WANTED!

"Time is Everything."

Having been authorized by

GOV. YATES

To raise a Company of men, for three years or during the war, I have opened an Office in the building lately occupied by Mr. R. Bills,

On Hamilton St., adjoining 'Peoria House,'
for the purpose of recruiting said company.

Forty Dollars Cash

paid on being mustered into the U. S. Service.

Dont wait until DRAFTING commences
but come up like **MEN**, and show your **PATRIOTISM** by enlisting
and helping with all your power to restore again to its once proud
position, that

GLORIOUS OLD FLAG!

The STARS AND STRIPES.

PEORIA, July 19th, 1862.

M. V. HOTCHKISS.

B. Foster, Printer and Bookbinder, Peoria.

RECRUITING POSTER, 1862

of August 24, to protect the office and records of Captain William Fithian.³⁹

Captain B. F. Westlake, provost marshal of the ninth district, met with considerable resistance in the enrollment of his area. In Fulton County, mobs headed by deserters from the Union Army and armed with shotguns and pistols, accosted enrolling officers, seized their enrollment lists and ordered them to desist from their labors. Fences on the farm of Deputy Provost Marshal Phelps, near Lewistown, were destroyed. In an effort to appease the disaffected, an appeal was issued to the people of Isabel Township to choose leaders from within their own ranks to take the enrollment. The appeal drew the caustic rebuke of the Democrats. On August 8, Major Schaumbeck was ordered to proceed with his entire cavalry force to Fulton County to make the enrollment. His military force being insufficient to quell the disturbance, another detachment of forty-two officers and men was sent to Lewistown on August 19. With the arrest of a number of civilians, the enrollment was finally completed on September 2.⁴⁰

What might have been a serious disturbance occurred in the tenth district (headquarters at Jacksonville), at Oconee, in Shelby County. Armed men gathered in the town the night of July 2 for the purpose of seizing the enrollment papers. The enrolling officer succeeded in making his escape to Pana with the coveted papers.

³⁹ Report of prov. mar., 5th-8th, 12th dists., Ill., Vol. 80; telegram of Oakes to Capt. Fithian, Aug. 24, 1863, prov. mar. gen., 7th dist., Ill., Vol. 77, pp. 10-11 (Nat. Arch.).

⁴⁰ *Canton Weekly Register*, July 27, 1863; report of prov. mar., 9th dist., Ill., Vol. 80 (Nat. Arch.). William Cornell, enrolling officer of Isabel Township, on Aug. 8, 1863, wrote to the editor of an Illinois sheet: "I asked some of their leaders if they would let . . . their own men enroll the precinct. They swore most lustily that a Democrat who would stoop so low as to do such a thing they would shoot." *Canton Weekly Register*, Aug. 10, 1863.

Colonel Oakes met the situation by dispatching a force of 100 men by special train to Oconee. The insurgents dispersed upon the appearance of the militia, and the enrollment was completed.

The business of enrollment at Olney (eleventh district) broke down temporarily when a mob of 500 men surrounded the town on the evening of July 21, and threatened to burn it unless the enrollment lists were surrendered. Enrolling Officer William B. Archer was able to evade the mob prior to their entering his office, and made his escape to St. Louis with the papers and records. Business was suspended for three days awaiting the arrival of the militia. The crowd was "a sort of imitation of the New York mob."⁴¹

The thirteenth district, comprising the southernmost section of Illinois and thoroughly Democratic, presented the most formidable opposition of any congressional district within the state to the enrollment. Captain I. N. Phillips, provost marshal of the district with headquarters at Cairo, had a difficult task to perform. The region was infested with deserters, and the "inhabitants one and all [were] . . . opposed to the Conscription Act in all its forms and were . . . well organized to resist the enrollment."⁴²

Captain Phillips, because of the murder of Enrolling Officer John P. Law, was unable to secure men who would undertake the hazardous task of enrolling Williamson County. He telegraphed Colonel Oakes for a force of 150 men to serve as an escort for enrolling officers. Because of the need of troops elsewhere, Oakes was unable to send a suitable military expedition until July

⁴¹ *Rockford Register*, Aug. 1, 1863; prov. mar. gen., letters rec'd., Ill., III, 0 46, 1863 (Nat. Arch.).

⁴² Prov. mar. gen., 13th dist., Ill., II, 67 (Nat. Arch.).

16, when 200 cavalry and 40 infantry (the latter for guard duty) were sent. Captain Phillips divided the troops into detachments, placing each detachment in charge of an officer. Each detachment was accompanied by an enrolling officer. Light fortifications on Muddy River had been thrown up by 130 armed men who apparently were prepared to risk a skirmish, but they fled upon the approach of a cavalry unit.⁴³

Perhaps the only occasion in Illinois during the Civil War in which martial law was resorted to as an expedient in the process of enrollment occurred in Williamson County, where the town of Marion was placed under martial law. The former regimental officers of the 128th Illinois Regiment, then living in Marion, conspired with the deserters of their command to place serious obstacles in the way of enrolling officers by inciting the people to offer formidable opposition.⁴⁴

With the aid of a strong military force, the enrollment of the thirteenth district was finally completed on October 23. Trouble was again to flare up in the district. In October, 1864, Provost Marshal Cherry and Deputy Enrolling Officer Wolf were assaulted. Other enrolling officers were also attacked.⁴⁵

Only the presence of a strong military force within the state prevented a climax of insurrections and bloodshed. Colonel Oakes and his staff of thirteen provost marshals handled the delicate situation commendably. The military units were managed with dispatch and

⁴³ Prov. mar. gen., 13th dist., Ill., II, 162 and XVIII, 530; letters rec'd., Ill., III, 0 33, 1863 (Nat. Arch.).

⁴⁴ The 128th Infantry was recruited and mustered from the 13th district in late 1862. Within five months the regiment was reduced from an aggregate of 861 to 161—principally by desertions. Because of "an utter want of discipline," the regiment was ordered discharged from the U. S. service, April 4, 1863. *Report of Adj. Gen. of Ill., 1861-1866*, VI: 532; prov. mar. gen., letters rec'd., 0 73, 1863 (Nat. Arch.).

⁴⁵ *Illinois State Journal*, Oct. 4, 1864; *Canton Weekly Register*, Oct. 17, 31, 1864.

decision. In Illinois there were no such riots as took place in New York.

IV

The first draft in Illinois during the Civil War was ordered by Provost Marshal General Fry to commence on September 19, 1864. The procedure used most frequently in making the draft was to place the names of persons on the corrected enrollment lists on separate cards of a uniform size, shape and color. These cards were then placed in sealed envelopes with the number of names, and number and designation of sub-districts marked on the outside. Some days in advance of the day of drawing, public notice was given of the time and place where a given sub-district would be drawn, and the attendance of prominent citizens requested. The time of drawing having arrived, the envelope bearing the name and number of the sub-district to be drawn was taken up and the number of cards or names said to be contained within announced. The seal was then broken in the presence of those assembled and the package of 100 tickets counted into a box. A blindfolded person would then draw a number of names, equal to the quota of the sub-district, from the box. The drawings were always made in broad daylight. This system of conducting the draft gave universal satisfaction; "even . . . the most violent Copperheads admitted its fairness."

Within ten days after the drawing, notices were to be served by officers upon all drafted men to appear at their local county seat within ten days. Here the conscripts were received by the board of enrollment who passed upon any claims for exemption. They were then given a physical examination by the surgeon, and if

found physically fit were accepted, taken to a rendezvous, outfitted and placed under guard preparatory to being sent to the general rendezvous at Camp Butler, near Springfield.

All drafted men were retained for a few days at their county seats in order to give them an opportunity to procure a substitute or be discharged by virtue of their respective sub-districts having filled their quotas by recruiting. A conscript who furnished a substitute was granted exemption during the time that such substitute was not liable to draft.

Opposition to recruitment in southern Illinois, where the Democrats predominated, was apparent from the commencement of the Civil War. In the presidential election of 1860 this area had given Stephen A. Douglas about a six-to-one majority over Lincoln. When the Cairo expedition was dispatched from Chicago in April, 1861, under the command of General R. K. Swift, a pilot engine was sent ahead to determine whether the "secessionists in southern Illinois might have torn up the track or burned the bridges."⁴⁶ A company of men was raised at Marion on May 25, 1861, to join the Confederate Army. So strong was southern sentiment that DeBard Rock, editor of the *Marion Intelligencer*, and other pro-Lincoln men were forced to leave the city. The secession flag was promenaded through the streets of Murphysboro, and the Union colors were hauled down at Nashville, Illinois.⁴⁷

Despite the opposition forces, Republican news sheets of northern Illinois announced that the southern part

⁴⁶ Koerner, *Memoirs*, II: 124.

⁴⁷ *Illinois State Journal*, May 31, 1861; *Chicago Tribune*, June 15, 1861; Patrick H. Lang to Yates, May 28, 1861; R. G. Wheatley to Yates, July 26, 1861; and James M. West to Yates, Aug. 2, 1861 (Yates MSS).

of the state raised more volunteers for the Union Army during the summer of 1861, "in proportion to the voters," than any other section of Illinois.⁴⁸

An organization which caused considerable embarrassment to the raising of Union forces in Illinois was the "Knights of the Golden Circle," later known as the "Order of the American Knights," then the "Sons of Liberty." This order formed lodges throughout Illinois which were characterized by the usual grip and signs of a secret order. Their membership was composed largely of Democrats who considered the war a result of abolition agitation. The purpose of the order was to bring about an armistice at the earliest moment, and to accomplish this they ardently resisted the draft, discouraged enlistments and the collection of taxes to defray the expenses of war. These "Knights" or "Copperheads," sometimes called "Chunk Heads," numbered approximately ten thousand in Illinois by December, 1861. This number had grown to about eighty-five thousand before the close of the Civil War.⁴⁹

Although the activities of the Knights were more manifest during the late period of the war, Governor Yates in 1862 feared the organization. He wrote to Senator Trumbull on February 14, 1862: "Secession is deeper and stronger here than you have any idea. Its advocates are numerous and powerful and respectable." The wives and daughters of this secret order expressed their sentiments by throwing bouquets of flowers and cakes over the prison walls to Confederate soldiers incarcerated at

⁴⁸ *Rockford Republican*, Sept. 19, 1861; *Illinois State Journal*, Aug. 24, 1861.

⁴⁹ *Illinois State Journal*, Dec. 7, 1861; John Moses, *Illinois, Historical and Statistical* (2nd ed., Chicago, 1895), II: 692. For a summary of the activities of the "Knights of the Golden Circle" in a national setting, see J. G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York, 1937), 389 ff.

Alton. So precarious had become the situation by August, 1864 that General William S. Rosecrans called upon Alton citizens to raise a regiment to guard the Confederate prisoners at that place. The authorities had seized several kegs of powder and shot intended for use by the Sons of Liberty to release the prisoners. The Sons held a celebration at Galena the same year and carried out a "general jail delivery of prisoners."⁵⁰

The Knights of the Golden Circle had formed military units in various Illinois counties by 1864 and were holding company drill at night in secluded places. A consignment of arms costing \$655.50 and weighing 240 pounds was shipped from Tennessee and received by a Copperhead named Driscoll at Macomb.⁵¹

The most sanguinary encounter of the military with the Copperhead element in Illinois was the Coles County riot which took place on March 28, 1864. About one hundred men of this anti-Lincoln league, in what appeared to be a preconcerted assault, attacked a group of soldiers who were on furlough, on the courthouse lawn at Charleston where the circuit court was in session. When the smoke of gunfire cleared away, three soldiers including Major Shubal York lay dead, and twenty others including Colonel Greenville M. Mitchell lay wounded on the courthouse green. Two Copperheads had lost their lives and several were wounded. The sheriffs of both Coles and Edgar counties joined the insurgent forces. With the arrival of a strong military

⁵⁰ *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, April, 1930, p. 73; Allen to Trumbull, June 10, 1862, Trumbull MSS (Library of Congress); clipping from *Alton Daily Telegraph*, Aug. 19, 1864, Yates MSS; report of prov. mar., 12th dist., Ill., Vol. 80 (Nat. Arch.); Stephen to Washburne, Dec. 24, 1862, E. B. Washburne MSS (Library of Congress).

⁵¹ Joseph Holt, *Report of the Judge Advocate General on "The Order of American Knights," alias "The Sons of Liberty"*—*Western Conspiracy in Aid of the Southern Rebellion* (Washington, 1864); *Chicago Tribune*, May 13, 1863; Prov. mar. gen., letters rec'd., Ill., O 38, 1863 (Nat. Arch.).

detachment the insurrectionary element rapidly scattered. Several of the conspirators were later captured and sent to Cincinnati for trial.⁵²

The Knights were instrumental in conducting other minor insurrections in Illinois. Upon reports that a strong force of Confederate sympathizers was ready to make a Putsch on Paris, several military companies were sent to the scene on March 2, 1864. Only slight resistance was encountered. In August of the same year, a daring plan of the Sons of Liberty to free several thousand rebel prisoners held at Chicago and other Illinois points was frustrated by General Benjamin J. Sweet.

The only demonstrative resistance to the draft in Illinois took place in the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth districts with headquarters at Jacksonville, Olney, Alton, and Cairo. Near Manchester, in Scott County (tenth district), a series of outbreaks occurred in November and December, 1864. Many persons were opposed to the draft and two officers who were serving draft notices to conscripts had been shot. A passenger train on the St. Louis, Jacksonville and Chicago Railroad was stopped near Manchester by armed men who were in search of friends who had been arrested by federal authorities. Following a number of minor skirmishes, the resistance subsided. Included in the booty captured by the Manchester expedition of over two hundred troops were eleven head of horses, eleven squirrel rifles, seven United States muskets, and four double-barreled shotguns.

Troops were sent into the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth districts to enforce the draft. Officers serving

⁵² *Chicago Tribune*, March 30, 1864; *Illinois State Journal*, March 30, April 2, 16, 1864; *Jacksonville Journal*, March 31, 1864; Acting Ass't. Prov. Mar. Gen., Ill., Vol. 77, p. 48 (Nat. Arch.).

draft notices were accosted by men brandishing arms, who ordered them to cease serving notices. Several persons were reported shot before the draft was completed.

Although the primary purpose of the Knights of the Golden Circle was political rather than military, the association served as a focal point for the disaffected and southern sympathizers. The activity of the Knights was especially menacing to recruitment and conscription. In many localities it became dangerous for Republicans to express their sentiments; cheers for Jeff Davis were of common occurrence.⁵³

The organization of the Union League, an association which endeavored to counteract rebellious activities of the Knights of the Golden Circle, was effected at Pekin, Illinois, on June 25, 1862. Within a year the League had over eleven hundred councils in Illinois with a membership of 125,000; this number had increased to 175,000 by 1864.⁵⁴

At the request of various League councils over the state, Governor Yates permitted them to organize secret militia companies for home protection against the "secesh." The Governor commissioned their officers, and furnished them with munitions, arms, and accouterments. They were ready at a minute's notice to combat any "probable" secret attack which the drilled companies of Knights might launch.⁵⁵ No indications have

⁵³ R. G. McCartney to Yates, March 1, 1863, Yates MSS; *Illinois State Journal*, Oct. 27, 1864.

⁵⁴ *Proceedings of the Grand Council of the Union League of America for the State of Illinois at its Second Annual Session, Springfield, September 2, 1863* (Springfield, 1863), 16; Moses, *Illinois, Historical and Statistical*, II: 759.

⁵⁵ James E. Callaway to Yates, Aug. 10, 1864; N. M. McCurdy to Yates, July 27, 1864, Yates MSS. This manuscript collection contains many letters received by Yates after Aug. 1, 1864, from persons who were urging the Governor to protect their lives and property from the "secesh" element. These letters indicate the necessity for organized protection. Yates expressed alarm over the number of persons who had been driven from their homes in Illinois. He stated: "A large portion of my time is

been revealed that any clashes occurred between these two armed groups.

The number of men contributed by Illinois to the Union forces during the Civil War was surpassed only by the states of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. The total Illinois enlistments, according to the *Official Records*, numbered 259,092; while Adjutant General Regan of Illinois places this figure at 256,297.⁵⁶ This armed force included 152 regiments and 3 companies of infantry, including 1 regiment of colored troops, 7 regiments of cavalry, 2 regiments of artillery and 9 batteries.

It is impossible to determine the actual number of men who served in the Army from Illinois, since only the number of enlistments from the state is recorded and the same individual may have enlisted more than once. This was especially true of bounty jumpers, men who would enlist, desert and then re-enlist under fictitious names for the purpose of securing the large bounties offered to recruits.

V

One of the most complex problems which the Lincoln administration had to deal with during the Civil War was the slacker problem. There were many routes which the slacker might use in gaining his objective. The easiest route for him to pursue was to remain at home and take a chance on not drawing a "prize." If his number was drawn, he could choose a respectable and legal way out by purchasing a substitute, or by the payment

consumed by appeals to put down disloyal desperadoes, against whom the courts are no protection." Yates to Stanton, July 29, 1864, *Offic. Rec.*, III ser., IV: 558. See also N. M. Baker, "The Pioneers of Macon County and the Civil War," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XVI (April-July, 1923), 124-25; *Carthage Republican*, Oct. 27, 1864.

⁵⁶ *Offic. Rec.*, III ser., IV: 1,264-70; letter from Adj. Gen. L. V. Regan to the writer. These figures do not take into account the period of service, which varied from three months to three years.

of \$300 commutation money. Drafted persons who were less fortunate financially, with the exception of conscientious objectors, were usually forced to adopt illicit methods to escape military duty.

A fraud practiced extensively by drafted and enrolled men in Illinois during the Civil War in an effort to evade army service was the use of certificates of disability secured from unprincipled and incompetent practitioners of medicine. For a fee, it was quite easy to secure such a certificate. Surgeon Moses F. Bassett, a member of the enrollment board of the fourth district, reported:

Indian Doctors, Root Doctors, Horse Doctors, Cancer doctors, Homeopathic doctors . . . for money [would] . . . supply their false and absurd certificates, duly supported by affidavits, to . . . everyone who . . . [would] call upon them. No matter how absurd and false a claim the man makes, if he is . . . able to pay the price, he . . . [could] obtain their services.⁵⁷

Perhaps the most corrupt practice used by slackers to secure immunity from army duty was the actual purchase of exemption certificates from examining physicians on the enrollment boards. The opportunities for fraud and bribery enjoyed by these doctors were almost unlimited, and were of "such a character as to defy detection, although the moral evidence of guilt may be most conclusive." Colonel Oakes was satisfied that many examining physicians, for a consideration, had rejected men under the pretense of some technical disability.⁵⁸

A "very extensive business" of obtaining discharges for soldiers was accidentally uncovered at the Overton General Hospital in Memphis, Tennessee. "Hospital Stewards, Civil physicians, and commissioned officers,"

⁵⁷ Report of Surgeon Moses F. Bassett, Acting Ass't. Prov. Mar. Gen., Vol. 80 (Nat. Arch.).

⁵⁸ *House Exec. Docs.*, 39 Cong. 1 sess., Vol. IV, Doc. no. 1, Pt. II, p. 35.

were engaged in the lucrative business of issuing discharges for \$50 each. A soldier would be interned at the hospital for a short time and then would be discharged as being physically unfit for further military duty. This business of selling discharges is known to have been in operation for several months before it was detected.⁵⁹

The degree of reluctance to perform military duty is indicated by the number of persons who paid commutation money and purchased substitutes. In the United States there were 86,724 persons who paid a total of \$26,366,316.78 commutation money. Pennsylvania was the largest contributor to this fund with the payment of \$8,634,300, while Illinois contributed but \$15,900, indicating that only fifty-three persons secured exemption in this way. Colonel James B. Fry has estimated that approximately 120,000 substitutes were furnished by enrollees and drafted men in the United States. It is known that Illinois furnished but 5,404 of this number. Of the 206,000 persons who secured exemption from military service by furnishing substitutes and the payment of commutation money, Illinois furnished but 5,459 or slightly more than two per cent, while being credited with furnishing almost ten per cent of all the forces of the Union Army.⁶⁰

When it became certain that the quota of Illinois under the call of December 19, 1864 could not be filled without resorting to conscription, various agencies arose to safeguard men against the liability of the impending draft. The most popular of these agencies were the private clubs and ward protective societies, although draft

⁵⁹ Prov. mar. gen., letters rec'd., Ill., VIII J 50, 1865 (Nat. Arch.).

⁶⁰ *Offic. Rec.*, III ser., V: 682-84, 788; Shannon, *Union Army*, II: 137; *House Exec. Docs.*, 39 Cong., 1 sess., Vol. IV, no. 1, Pt. II, p. 48.

insurance companies are known to have done a good business.

The Chicago Draft Insurance Company was probably the dominant company of its kind in Illinois. The company was capitalized at \$100,000 with a paid-in capital of \$35,000 in cash. It proposed to insure a limited number of enrolled men in a district against being drafted, by furnishing substitutes for its members who were drawn.⁶¹

Persons liable to draft organized clubs and mutual protective associations throughout the state. Each member of these organizations paid into a common fund a certain sum of money, all of which was to go toward procuring substitutes in case any of their members were called upon to shoulder arms. The membership fee charged by the ward draft associations in Chicago usually varied from \$25 to \$40.

Upon the approach of the drafts in 1864 and 1865, thousands of men "skedaddled" from Illinois. Large numbers of able-bodied men left for western points where the "gold fever [had] . . . broken out in . . . great severity." By January, 1865, the departure of men had developed into a "stampede." Persons were reported to be leaving Chicago at the rate of three or four hundred per day. An Illinois correspondent of Congressman Washburne believed that enough of the arms-bearing population had fled the state to fill its quota (32,902) under the last call.⁶²

The privilege of substitution formed a nefarious trade which developed into a regular system of buying

⁶¹ Prov. mar. gen., letters rec'd., Jan. 16, 1865 (Nat. Arch.).

⁶² *Canton Weekly Register*, Feb. 29, 1864; Prov. mar. 9th dist., Ill., Vol. 80 (Nat. Arch.); *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 15, 1865; ——— to Washburne, Feb. 5, 1865, Washburne MSS, no. 8981.

and selling substitutes. The enormous profits to be derived from this business soon developed a class of men known as "substitute brokers" who had almost a complete monopoly of the trade. This brokerage business became thoroughly organized and co-ordinated. Brokers would distribute agents and "runners" at favorable points to gather up all available men. They ran advertisements in the newspapers offering their services.

From the beginning of the draft in Illinois the substitute market was buoyant, so great was the demand. On September 22, 1864, a few days after the draft was instituted in Illinois, the *Illinois State Register* carried the following item: "A new feature We noted the sale of three likely able-bodied men yesterday—color not stated, as it is immaterial to Uncle Abe—at \$400, \$450, and \$600 respectively, average a little less than \$500 each. They were bought to fill a Woodford county order." Three days later the same journal remarked that "the demand for substitutes seems to be on the increase. Yesterday their par value averaged from \$700 to \$900. About a dozen, most of them negroes, were picked up and are already in the service of Father Abraham." This brokerage business became so thoroughly organized and co-ordinated that recruits were "shipped from one point of the United States to another as cattle are shipped and sold."⁶³

The highest bounties paid in Illinois during the Civil War were paid following the July call of 1864, when the seventh congressional district paid an average bounty of \$1,055.76 per man. This bounty was probably exceeded by that of only one other district in the United States; a

⁶³ *Illinois State Register*, Sept. 25, 1864; report of prov. mar., 9th dist., Ill., Vol. 80 (Nat. Arch.).

district in New York paid \$1,060 a recruit. More than \$17,000,000 was paid in local bounties in Illinois. Illinois, unlike several of the eastern states, did not pay a state bounty.

The profits to be derived from the bounty business were enormous. It was not unusual for a broker to receive a \$300 premium on a single recruit. It was disclosed that some twenty-seven bounty brokers lodged in Old Capitol Prison had made fortunes of \$250,000. The *Chicago Tribune* stated on February 17, 1865 that such fortunes were paralleled by those made in Chicago.

Bounty brokers, frequently referred to as "Flesh Brokers," were a disreputable lot who used every subterfuge to put money into their own pockets. It was stated:

They scour the vilest dens . . . [of Chicago] daily and nightly in search of victims. The wiles which they resort to . . . were getting a man drunk, and making him sign a promise while in a state of intoxication, which they frighten him into keeping when sober. . . . [This was] one of the most innocent modes of obtaining recruits.⁶⁴

Bounty brokers were little interested in the qualifications of the recruits whom they presented. Through the collusion of enrollment boards and examining physicians, they filled the Army and Navy with "children, idiots, cripples from birth, persons of disease of long standing, and rebel deserters."⁶⁵

In Chicago, policemen became the hirelings of the bounty merchant in rounding up and inveigling men into the bounty net. It was reported, supposedly upon good authority, that there was "scarcely a police officer in the city . . . [not] engaged in the business." A Chi-

⁶⁴ *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 30, 1865.

⁶⁵ *Central Illinois Gazette*, Feb. 10, 1865.

chicago journal was less critical of the policemen because it was difficult for them to support a family on a monthly salary of \$50.⁶⁶

So profitable was the bounty business that Chicago brokers soon encountered competition from army officers, judges and prosecuting attorneys, who were not to be deprived of the opportunities of becoming comparatively rich within a few days or weeks. Captain Decker, who was recruiting for a regiment organizing at Camp Fry, received \$100 each for recruits whom he presented.

The "Judge of the Court" and prosecuting attorneys in Chicago presented convicts and men held in jail under indictments, or awaiting action of the grand jury, to the enrollment boards for volunteers or substitutes. The judge would give these men the opportunity to be released from civil authority under a definite provision "that the convict get one per ct of the local bounty and the other parties get the ninety-nine per ct."

Men who were to have been fined rather heavily, say \$100, would be subjected to a similar process. The arrangement then was to enlist the man, collect the local bounty of \$300 or \$400, pay the fine and pocket the remainder.⁶⁷

The large bounties received by recruits encouraged and facilitated desertion, which developed into a system of bounty jumping. A man would enlist, collect his bounty, desert, and then re-enlist. One Illinois recruit is known to have enlisted eight times and to have collected as many bounties. This is not spectacular when it is considered that a man in New York confessed to

⁶⁶ *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 16, 30, 1865.

⁶⁷ Prov. mar. gen., letters rec'd., VIII J 13, 1865 and prov. mar., 1st dist., Ill., XIII, 155-56 (Nat. Arch.).

having "jumped the bounty" thirty-two times.⁶⁸

Tolono, Illinois, became the center of systematic desertion for troops who were passing east over the Great Western Railroad. Sixteen men escaped at this place within a few hours. Here recruits were able to exchange their army attire for civilian clothes. A special agent sent to Tolono on March 14, 1865, in a short time collected "70 overcoats, 3 Dress coats, 4 Blouses,—Blankets, Knapsacks, Haversacks, Canteens & c."⁶⁹

The bounty system gave rise to a mercenary class of bounty brokers who used every subterfuge to secure profits. Police, judges, prosecuting attorneys, army officers, and examining physicians were among those who became consorts of bounty brokers. As an adjunct of the bounty system came bounty jumping. Competitive bidding for recruits caused many communities to exert every effort to raise bounty money with which to fill their quotas.

The bounty system was a millstone about the neck of recruiting, and furnished to the government soldiers or sailors whose dependability was often very questionable.

Early enthusiasm, cooled by the dilatory policy of the War Department and uncertainty of provision for the soldiers' families, use of the threat of the draft as a spur to enlistment, and abuse of the practice of furnishing substitutes and the payment of bounties are among the salient features of raising Union forces in Illinois during the Civil War.

⁶⁸ *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 27, 1865; *Offic. Rec.*, III ser., V: 725.

⁶⁹ Acting Ass't. Prov. Mar. Gen., Ill., VI, 185 (Nat. Arch.).

JAMES HALL AND THE ANTIQUARIAN AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ILLINOIS

BY JOHN T. FLANAGAN

INTEREST in history and one's forebears is not usually vital in young and developing communities. Pioneer emigrants and settlers are normally too busy taming the wilderness, hewing homes out of the forests or wresting a livelihood from the soil, to examine, reflect upon, and record their immediate past. Moreover, the American woodsmen who penetrated the trans Allegheny regions were seldom bookish and certainly took little care to preserve the materials relating to their westward infiltration. Food, fuel, shelter, security took inevitable precedence over the making of a written record of events which to the frontiersmen themselves must have seemed banal and ordinary.

But just as on the high seas certain naval officers are deputed to keep the log of the cruise, so individual explorers felt themselves obligated to record their adventures in diaries and journals. Some of these chronicles, like Jonathan Carver's travels or George Rogers Clark's invaluable memoir of the Illinois Country, date from the late eighteenth century. In the 1790's too John Filson wrote the earliest sketch of Daniel Boone and published the first history of Kentucky. Others, like the narratives of Zebulon Pike and Major Stephen Long and Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, relate to the first third of the nine-

teenth century. By 1826 when Timothy Flint's memorable *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* appeared, a spate of such volumes had been given to the reading public.

A community interest in history, even in the younger settlements, followed gradually on the heels of these individual efforts to preserve the past. State historical societies were organized not only, as one might expect, along the Atlantic seaboard but also in the territory west of the Alleghenies. By the middle 1830's Ohio, Indiana, and Louisiana had chartered such institutions. The inception of the Minnesota Historical Society in 1849 antedated statehood for Minnesota by nine years.¹ And as early as 1827 an attempt was made at Vandalia to organize an Illinois antiquarian and historical society.

James Hall, the leading spirit in this movement, was relatively a newcomer to the state. A veteran of the War of 1812 and of Commodore Stephen Decatur's naval expedition to Algiers, Hall had resigned his lieutenant's commission in the United States Army in 1818 and had immediately begun to practice law in Pittsburgh. But his eyes glanced longingly toward the West. As a young barrister he was not inordinately prosperous, and the innumerable boatloads of emigrants and settlers who left the Pittsburgh wharves piqued his wanderlust. In the spring of 1820 the temptation finally became irresistible. He too boarded a keelboat and floated down the Ohio as far as Shawneetown, then a thriving port of debarkation for the western country. The life of the great river, the magnetic vitality of the boatmen, the green freshness of the valley in spring, all these Hall

¹ For an account of the origin of historical societies throughout the nation see Julian P. Boyd, "State and Local Historical Societies in the United States," *American Historical Review*, Vol. XL (Oct., 1934), 21.

depicted charmingly in his later book, *Letters from the West* (London, 1828).

At Shawneetown Hall again entered the practice of law. But he also found time to purchase a half interest in the second newspaper published in Illinois, the *Illinois Gazette*, which he edited very successfully for two years. For a short time he was the law partner of John McLean; later he was named prosecuting attorney of Gallatin and various adjacent counties, and shortly thereafter judge of the fourth judicial circuit, a position which he held until the state legislature abolished the district judgeships in 1827. But the same legislature which had robbed him of his judicial position appointed him state treasurer of Illinois. For the next few years Hall made Vandalia his residence.

But Hall was congenitally incapable of limiting himself to one activity. He had been lawyer and journalist and judge at Shawneetown; at Vandalia he was politician and editor. Together with Robert Blackwell he published the *Illinois Intelligencer*, one of the influential papers in the state. He also edited the *Western Souvenir*, the first literary annual produced west of Ohio, and he had the audacity to begin a monthly journal devoted to literature and general culture, the *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, which lingered for two years before Hall took it with him to Cincinnati. Citizens and travelers alike testified to the merit of this periodical, but Hall had almost as much trouble in filling its monthly complement of pages as he had in luring subscribers. The ultimate result was that he wrote most of the first two volumes himself. Hall remained treasurer of Illinois until 1831 when he was succeeded by John Dement, and early in 1833 he left the state for Cincinnati where he resided

the rest of his life. His twelve years in the West had been crammed with various activities and he had been prominent in many fields, not the least of which was his labor in behalf of a state historical society.

On December 8, 1827, a group of men gathered at the statehouse in Vandalia for the purpose of organizing a society to encourage interest in Illinois history. William Wilson, then chief justice of the Illinois Supreme Court, was asked to take the chair, and James Hall acted as secretary. Shortly after a committee had been appointed to draft a constitution, the meeting adjourned. Two days later the group reconvened, and Governor Edward Coles read the constitution which the committee had approved.

The undersigned citizens of Illinois, and others, sensible that there are now in existence within this State, many interesting vestiges of its former population, that many important facts respecting its settlement by the present race of inhabitants are preserved only in tradition; that little is correctly known even by ourselves, in relation to those points, and that the past or present character of our country, its soil, climate and productions, remain almost unnoticed [*sic*] by the naturalist and the historian; and believing that these important relics of the past, or monuments of the present time, are daily diminishing in number and value, have determined to establish an institution which shall afford a safe depository for all such documents, facts, and materials, as we shall be able to procure, and which may be properly classed among the evidences of history. To effect this object, and such others as may be deemed auxiliary to the general purpose of the institution, we do hereby constitute ourselves, and such others as may be admitted to join us, a society to be called "THE ANTIQUARIAN AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ILLINOIS," and do adopt for our government the following CONSTITUTION.

Coles then proceeded to list the various objectives which the new society contemplated.

The objects of this society shall be to collect, preserve and dis-

seminate authentic information on the following subjects, viz.:

1. The antiquities of Illinois, and its former inhabitants from the earliest times.
2. Its discovery and first settlement by the whites.
3. Its history from the first settlement of the whites to the establishment of the Territorial government; and from the latter period.
4. Its soil, climate, productions, trade, commerce, and manufactures.
5. Its animals and minerals.
6. Its topography and facilities for inland navigation.
7. Its health and population.
8. Its phenomena and natural curiosities.
9. And generally all facts descriptive of the country, its government and inhabitants, including such biographical memoirs as may be deemed interesting.²

When ballots for officers had been cast, a tabulation showed that the twenty-five members had elected James Hall as president of the new organization, William Wilson and Coles as vice-presidents, James Whitlock as secretary, and Robert H. Peebles as librarian.³

The president immediately took the chair and delivered an inaugural address. After expressing his gratitude for the honor accorded him, he remarked that the society was one which would ignore political differences for a common cause. Hall could not forget in his prolegomenon that several members, notably Breese, Forquer, and John Reynolds, were his political adversaries. Then he proceeded to discuss the policy and settlement of the western country. He observed that the United

² *Illinois Intelligencer* [Vandalia], Dec. 22, 1827.

³ The full membership included the following names: William Wilson, Samuel McRoberts, Edward Coles, John Reynolds, Alfred W. Cavarly, James M. Duncan, William Thomas, A. L. Mills, Richard M. Young, James Whitlock, Elijah C. Berry, Robert Blackwell, Alfred Cowles, James Hall, Sidney Breese, George Forquer, John M. Robinson, Samuel D. Lockwood, William H. Brown, Robert H. Peebles, Benjamin Mills, Edward D. Taylor, Theophilus W. Smith, David J. Baker, and Thomas Reynolds. The committee appointed to draft a constitution included Coles, McRoberts, Robinson, Cavarly, and Hall. See the *Illinois Intelligencer* [Vandalia], Dec. 22, 1827.

States had carefully extinguished all prior claims to the vast Ohio territory by promulgating treaties with foreign nations, by purchasing Indian claims, and by acquiring property from the individual states. But the history of land acquisition was generally familiar.

More important for the newly organized society were other matters which Hall proceeded to enumerate. He described the frontiersmen who had followed Boone into the wilderness, their origins, their habits, and their privations. "They now compose a huge portion of the population of this State, and it is important to collect from their own mouths, the evidence, as well of their sufferings and exploits, as of the appearance, character, and condition of the country at their ingress." The French settlements in Illinois were likewise material for scholarship. Hall commented on the century-old colony at Kaskaskia which had preserved the gaiety, the hospitality, the customs and manners of old France. The French voyageurs and traders were not conspicuously literary and if their life was to be preserved, Hall thought, it was incumbent on the society to act at once.⁴ He also called attention to the remnants of the Indian tribes which once possessed the Illinois Country and to the strange tumuli or burial mounds which dotted the great valley of the Ohio. It was his opinion that archaeologists could serve the people most effectively by opening some of these barrows and examining with scientific care the bones and artifacts deposited there.

Finally Hall observed the need for preserving contemporary records, for examining the genesis and func-

⁴ Hall himself wrote three charming fictional accounts of the old French settlements: "Michel de Coucy," "The French Village," and "A Legend of Carondelet." See such books as *Legends of the West* (Philadelphia, 1832) and *Tales of the Border* (Philadelphia, 1835).

tion of laws, the growth of society, the development of agriculture, the effects of climate and seasonal changes on the human physique. He was aware of the immediate problems facing western settlers. He commented on the incidence of sickness and disease but was too patriotic a westerner to attribute these to the climate. The Ohio Valley was notable for its general salubrity; the real difficulty was that emigrants to a new country ignored even the simplest expedients to preserve health. They exposed themselves needlessly, were careless in going abroad during inclement weather, too often neglected the building of proper houses. Nor were woodsmen and farmers the most culpable; Hall claimed that judges, lawyers, merchants, and clergymen were equally reckless in defying the weather. The frontier diet too lacked variety and proper balance. A nutritional regimen that stressed meat and alcohol, that ignored salt and scorned vegetables, could hardly be considered healthful. He concluded that the prevalence of violent maladies, especially when one remembered the paucity of physicians, was hardly surprising.⁵

Hall's conception of history was surprisingly catholic. Not a trained historian, he was yet a man of wide experience and a westerner with a strong, sincere, intelligent interest in the past. He did not limit scholarship to military exploits and political controversies but correctly saw the need for preserving all kinds of data, sociological, geographical, geological, literary. In these ways he anticipated the breadth and universality of later historical inquiry. Certainly the infant Antiquarian

⁵ *Proceedings of the Antiquarian and Historical Society of Illinois, at its First Session, in December 1827: With an Address, Delivered by the Hon. James Hall, President of the Society* (Edwardsville, 1828). This may be found at the Chicago Historical Society.

and Historical Society of Illinois could not have chosen a better president than James Hall.

Unfortunately neither the formation of the society nor the speech of the first president left a great impact on western culture. The organization itself was not destined to flourish long and within five years Hall was to leave the state forever. But at least one middlewestern editor was impressed by the activities at Vandalia. Timothy Flint not only praised the society but reprinted a long passage from Hall's address in his *Western Monthly Review*. Flint even apologized to his readers for not giving it more space for, as he observed, it had "rare felicity, taste and eloquence," and it "would tend to remove the film from the eyes of those of our Atlantic readers, who still think, that there is neither taste, oratory, or fine writing in the backwood's country."⁶

On December 22, 1828, a second meeting of the society was held at Vandalia and all the officers were re-elected. Hall again presided and delivered an address. In his exordium he reiterated his statements of the previous year, emphasizing the necessity of preserving and collecting historical materials before they disappeared. "We propose," he said, "to depict the character and develope [*sic*] the resources of our State. We would elevate the name, and advance the interests, of that country which we have chosen as a home for ourselves, and an inheritance for our children." He took pride in saying that he lived in an age free from prejudice and able to progress scientifically without obstacles, in an age when all were free and none were poor. He felt it a duty "to co-operate in liberal schemes to elevate the character, enhance the wealth, and sustain the honor" of the country. A society

⁶ Timothy Flint, *Western Monthly Review*, Vol. I (Jan., 1828), 563.

pledged to preserve the history of the state seemed all the more important when one remembered "that few of the writers, who have treated of the Western Country, rank above mediocrity, and that little of all that has been written on this subject is interesting or true." Hall then reminded the members that the collection of data and objects could be simplified if the task were divided. The antiquarian, he thought, had a peculiar function, that of exhuming the past. "It is desirable to obtain particular accounts of all ancient fortifications, mounds, and villages; of salines and mines which appear to have been worked by the aborigines; and of the warlike instruments, domestic utensils, and other remains of that people."

Hall proceeded to name the western heroes like Boone and Wayne and George Rogers Clark whose intrepidity had made them famous, but he remarked that there were innumerable nameless heroes who should not be forgotten, who also had fought *pro aris et focis* and who bore many a scar and wound as a result. He alluded again to the French settlements along the Mississippi and praised a way of life which entailed peaceful relations with the Indians. The happy, leisurely, rather indolent French settlers provided a fascinating topic for research. Moreover, the transference of the western country to the United States, the rise of emigration, the gradual development of laws and territorial government were subjects for study. In a burst of pride Hall declared that the newer states to the west of the Alleghenies had improved on eastern civilization by abolishing imprisonment for debt, by outlawing usury, by making suffrage general and elections frequent, and by simplifying administration and the cost of government. He commented that the

whole annual disbursement of the State of Illinois for salaries to its executive and judicial officers did not exceed \$10,000.

In the latter part of his address Hall enumerated with great care the factors which he thought it desirable for the historian to investigate. These included the surface of the country and its general topography, minerals and mineral deposits, animal life, climate and particularly the effect of seasonal change on human life, population and vital statistics, manners and customs, trade and commerce with special emphasis on transportation charges and facilities, agriculture and production, and finally manufactures. The culmination of his speech was a plea for help from all early settlers, historians, men of science, and the collective membership of the society.⁷

On the motion of General Robinson the Society voted that its thanks should be publicly extended to James Hall for his "able and lucid address" and that the address should be printed. Then it was announced that additional members had been elected, including John Russell, Peter Cartwright, and Henry Eddy (Eddy had once been Hall's partner in the publication of a Shawneetown newspaper). Honorary members included two St. Louisans, Colonel Auguste Chouteau, the well-known fur trade impresario, and General William Clark, famous for his explorations of the Far West with Meriwether Lewis.

There is record of at least another meeting of the Society, that of January 12, 1829, when Hall in his capacity of president appointed ten committees, each to

⁷ *An Address Delivered Before the Antiquarian and Historical Society of Illinois, at its Second Annual Meeting, in December 1828, by James Hall, President of the Society* (Vandalia, 1829). Hall reiterated these points in the preface to his *Sketches of History, Life, and Manners in the West* (Philadelphia, 1835).

concern itself with a particular aspect of Illinois history. They included committees on: (1) Antiquities; (2) Aborigines of Illinois; (3) National origin, early difficulties, and domestic traits of the first settlers; (4) French colonists and their descendants; (5) Biographical notices of extraordinary persons; (6) Climate and diseases; (7) Geology; (8) Capabilities of the state for internal navigation; (9) Agriculture, commerce, and manufactures; (10) Judicial history of Illinois.

It is worth remarking that this list of topics resembles very closely similar expositions which Hall later included in various publications, notably the serial "Notes on Illinois" which appeared in a number of issues of his *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, and the chapters on geology, the prairies, flora and fauna in *Notes on the Western States* (Philadelphia, 1838) and *The West: Its Soil Surface, and Productions* (Cincinnati, 1848).

The subsequent history of the Antiquarian and Historical Society of Illinois is obscure, and when Hall left for Cincinnati early in 1833 the institution lost its chief promoter. But the comments of travelers indicate that for a few years it evinced a remarkable vitality. James Stuart, a Scotch visitor at Vandalia in the spring of 1830, was greatly impressed by the provincial culture of the town. He wrote:

It is an extraordinary fact that in this town, the capital of Illinois, a state more extensive and infinitely more fertile than England, the first house in which was not begun until the year 1821, three annual meetings of an antiquarian and historical society have already taken place, and the whole of their published proceedings are as regular, as well conducted, and as well printed, from the Blackwell press of Vandalia, as if the seat of the society had been at Oxford or Cambridge.

Stuart went on to quote Hall's presidential address

of 1828, interpolating his admiration for it, and he also referred approvingly to the *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, which he compared favorably to *Blackwood's*.⁸

Edmund Flagg, who visited Vandalia in 1836, also commented on the existence of a society dedicated to research in the past. "An historical and antiquarian society has here existed for about ten years, and its published proceedings evince much research and information." Flagg was likewise impressed by the excellence of the *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, which Hall made the vehicle for many of his discussions of western history and settlement.⁹

Such testimony is ample proof not only of the unusual character but also of the significance of the Society which James Hall had done so much to nourish. Even after Hall left Illinois the momentum he provided continued to actuate the group and to stimulate its interest in history. But probably by the early 1840's the institution was defunct. Political differences among the members, despite Hall's initial assumption of their disappearance, no doubt proved stronger than the centripetal influences stemming from a common interest in the past. At least the *Laws of Illinois* for 1847 contain a provision for an organization to be called the Illinois Literary and Historical Society as the result of a petition for incorporation from a group founded at Upper Alton in July, 1843. The petition named Cyrus Edwards as president; Sidney Breese, J. B. Turner, William T. Brown, J. W. Browning, and Jesse B. Thomas as vice-presidents; and John Mason Peck, Adiel Sherwood, and M. G. Atwood as secretaries. If the society failed to prosper, the act

⁸ James Stuart, *Three Years in North America* (New York, 1833), II: 227.

⁹ Edmund Flagg, *The Far West: or, A Tour Beyond the Mountains* (New York, 1838), 228.

further provided, all books, manuscripts, charts, maps, and donated objects should be "preserved in the custody of the librarian of Shurtleff college, for the benefit of the future historian of the state."¹⁰ This second attempt to found a state historical society likewise failed, but there is record of the existence of the Society as late as 1858. In that year, the biographer of John Mason Peck remarked, the by-laws and constitution were changed and the name was altered to the Illinois Historical Society. "Peck was connected with it until his death [March 14, 1858]."¹¹ The present Illinois State Historical Society, which has done so much to build up the archives and develop the historic consciousness of the state, was not founded until 1899.

It is impossible today to ascertain whether James Hall was the leading spirit or merely one of a group interested in promoting a society devoted to the history of Illinois. But one may assume from his conspicuous role in the first meeting and his election as the first president that his influence was paramount. Hall was of an aggressive temperament. A man of wide interest and of varied experience, he entered law and journalism and politics with energy and gusto. Seldom during his twelve years in Illinois did he limit himself to one field; always a multiplicity of interests consumed his vigor. But throughout his life his passion for history was dominant. In the newspapers he published and the magazines he edited he gave space to articles about the development and exploitation of the West, about emigration and settlement, about natural resources, agriculture, the aboriginal inhabitants, early travelers, transportation,

¹⁰ *Laws of Illinois, 1847*, pp. 51-52.

¹¹ Matthew Lawrence, *John Mason Peck* (New York, 1940), 82-83.

and military exploits. He himself wrote frequently and well about these same themes, and in his most ambitious work, a history of the Indian tribes of the North American continent, he strove to preserve the history of the savages and their sachems.¹² If James Hall did not initiate the attempt to form a state historical society in Illinois, his services were no less important since it was undoubtedly his energy and enthusiasm and knowledge of the past that kept the society alive for even a few years. He resided in Illinois during an exciting decade, and if he contributed little to the actual making of history, he did a great deal to persuade his fellow citizens of the need of recording history before the data perished.

¹² Hall collaborated with Thomas L. McKenney in *The Indian Tribes of North America* which appeared in three opulent folio volumes in Philadelphia, 1836-1844.

THE LAKE MICHIGAN WATER DIVERSION CONTROVERSY: A SUMMARY STATEMENT*

BY MAURICE O. GRAFF

THE second World War, with its daily struggles for control of the oceans, rivers, straits, canals, and harbors of the world, emphasizes again the vital importance of water in the life of man. There is scarcely a body of water of any importance that has not, at some time, become the center of conflict. The Great Lakes, lying in the heart of one of the most productive areas of the world, are no exception.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The low, flat, marshy and narrow divide which separates the waters of Lake Michigan from those of the Illinois River system has constituted an inviting project for those who have thought in terms of inland waterway transportation. The French explorers who paddled their canoes in this area in the seventeenth century, impressed by the shortness and ease of the portages, saw the possibilities. Two and a half centuries later, in 1822, Congress passed an act "to authorize the State of Illinois to open a canal through the public lands, to connect the Illinois River with Lake Michigan." Illinois, after making some attempts to organize and finance

* This article is a summary of a dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy in the Department of Political Science in the Graduate College of the State University of Iowa, August, 1941.

the project, appealed to the national government for assistance. Another act of Congress in 1827 provided for a large land grant to the State for the construction of the canal, and nine years later the Illinois General Assembly authorized the construction of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, "to be supplied with water from Lake Michigan and such other sources as the canal commissioners may think proper." The canal was completed in 1848 at a cost of \$6,500,000.

Meanwhile the city of Chicago was mushrooming on the shores of Lake Michigan. Less than twenty years after the town was founded, when the Illinois and Michigan Canal was completed, there were nearly thirty thousand people living at the mouth of the Chicago River. Much of the sewage of the city was dumped into the river and the lake. Some of it was pumped out of the Chicago River and into the Illinois and Michigan Canal, but this pumpage was not sufficient to reverse the flow of the river. Lake Michigan became seriously polluted. Meanwhile the population of Chicago was more than doubling during each decade. Typhoid fever became widespread, for the drinking water of the city had to be taken from the waters into which the sewage was dumped.

Finally, in 1889, the General Assembly of Illinois authorized the creation of the Chicago Sanitary District, and almost immediately work was begun on a new Chicago Drainage Canal. The new canal was much wider and deeper than the old Illinois and Michigan Canal which it paralleled. It reversed the flow of the Chicago River and made possible a large gravity flow of water from Lake Michigan. It provided a relatively safe dilution treatment for the sewage of the city and freed

the water supply of most of the contamination. The canal was opened in 1900.

The Great Lakes area, however, was becoming industrialized and heavily populated. With this development the value of the waters increased rapidly. It was not long before the other interests around the Great Lakes began to protest against the large withdrawals of water at Chicago on the grounds that the lake levels were being lowered, causing injury to property. Four decades of political conflict followed. Canada and the United States disagreed over the use of the boundary waters. Cities such as Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, and Milwaukee exchanged verbal blows with Chicago. The states of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York went into the federal courts to defend the riparian rights of their cities and their own proprietary interests in the Great Lakes. Pressure groups representing a great variety of interests entered the conflict.

Concrete evidence of the political nature of the conflict is to be found in the fact that the Lake Michigan water diversion question has occasioned disputes concerning two international treaties; has produced five Supreme Court decisions in a sixteen-year period; has resulted in the introduction of more than a dozen bills in Congress; has occasioned four lengthy congressional hearings and dozens of debates on the floor of each chamber of Congress; and has provided subject matter for a flood of newspaper editorials, state legislative memorials to Congress, resolutions, protests, letters, telegrams, and petitions such as few disputes in American history have occasioned.

The dispute seemed to be nearing an end during the

latter part of the 1920's when the Supreme Court had forced Chicago to substitute sewage treatment plants for the dilution process of sewage disposal and to cease withdrawing large volumes of water from Lake Michigan. But at that moment a group of inland waterway enthusiasts, interested in a deep Lakes-to-the-Gulf waterway, and fearing the effects of decreased diversion upon navigation on this national project, began to agitate for the continuance of withdrawals of Lake Michigan water for navigation purposes, giving new momentum to the controversy. Several legislative attempts have failed, but a new national defense movement, with its consequent emphasis upon transportation, may give life to others.

CONFLICT WITH CANADA

Though Lake Michigan is more than fifty miles from the international boundary at its nearest point, it is so directly connected with the other four Great Lakes that Canada has been vitally interested in the Lake Michigan water diversion problem for many years. Vast electric power interests, and private and public enterprises of all kinds have grown up along the Canadian shores of the Great Lakes and depend upon the maintenance of water levels for their property value and their prosperity.

The expert testimony of engineers has established the fact that at the peak of the Chicago diversion, when about 10,000 cubic feet of water per second were being diverted, the levels of Lakes Erie, Huron, and Ontario were lowered about six inches. This lowering varies with the amount diverted. A 2,000 or 3,000 cubic feet per second (hereafter abbreviated as c. f. s.) diversion at

Chicago lowers Huron, Erie, and Ontario two or three inches. Though other factors such as the amount of rainfall, the time of annual freezing and thawing, deepening of connecting channels, and the amount of evaporation also affect the levels greatly, still the Chicago diversion subtracts a few inches from the normal levels at any time. During times of low levels the additional injury from diversion becomes a considerable item. Canada, conscious of this inescapable fact, has sought protection from, or compensation for, the Chicago diversion.

The Canadian view of riparian law has tended to follow the old principle that a lower riparian owner is entitled to the natural flow of a stream, unimpaired in quantity, subject only to reasonable use by the upper riparian owner. Since the natural outlet of the Great Lakes is now through the St. Lawrence River, the Canadians have felt that the diversion of large quantities of water from the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence watershed to the Illinois-Mississippi watershed constitutes an unreasonable act on the part of the upper riparian owner.

The 1909 Boundary Waters Treaty with Great Britain sought to clarify some of the problems of water use between the United States and Canada. But the American representatives refused to allow Lake Michigan to be considered as a "boundary water" under the terms of the treaty, and hence, the United States has refused to concede that the Chicago diversion is covered by treaty references to "diversions" or "obstructions." Furthermore, the fact that Canada was allowed 36,000 c. f. s. of water at Niagara Falls while the United States received only 20,000 c. f. s. has been interpreted by the

United States to mean that the Chicago diversion represented compensation for the difference.

Though there was some difference of opinion among the Canadians themselves, the majority view seemed to be that Canada was being bullied by her neighbor to the south. In the Canadian Parliament there were loud demands for "pressure" against the United States for the enforcement of the treaty. Some of the Canadian representatives felt that the proper procedure would be to convince Great Britain that further war debt payments to the United States should be withheld until the Chicago diversion was stopped. The debt moratorium, coupled with a 1929 Supreme Court decision which greatly reduced the diversion, ended this argument.

International negotiations between Canada and the United States for the completion of the St. Lawrence seaway and power project have involved the Chicago diversion question. The 1933 treaty proposal failed of ratification in the United States Senate largely because of the opposition of the senators from the Mississippi Valley, who, interested in the future of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf waterway, disliked the provisions which limited the Chicago diversion to 1,500 c. f. s. and seemed to impair the "sovereignty" of the United States over Lake Michigan. A similar treaty failed in 1938. A new "executive agreement" which was concluded in 1941 and which also restricts further diversions of water from the Great Lakes at Chicago without Canadian consent is much more likely to be accepted, for it provided for adoption by simple majorities in each house of Congress instead of by a two-thirds majority in the Senate.

INTERCITY CONFLICT

Though the Chicago Sanitary District is really the creature of the State of Illinois, the city of Chicago has borne the brunt of the hostile attacks of the other Great Lakes cities in the diversion conflict. The legal battles in which the states around the Great Lakes have engaged have been largely battles dealing with the special interests of the cities within their borders. These cities, like the Canadian cities, have been inclined to view Chicago as a "thief" and a "water pirate," stealing waters "from lake shippers, and trying to cripple the Great Lakes transportation system." When Representatives William E. Hull, Henry T. Rainey, M. Alfred Michaelson, and Senator Medill McCormick of Illinois introduced bills in Congress for the authorization of a large diversion either for sanitation or navigation during the 1920's a barrage of vitriolic epithets was immediately hurled at Chicago. Again during the 1930's when Representatives Claude Parsons and James McAndrews of Illinois sponsored bills authorizing 5,000 c. f. s. diversions for navigation purposes the press and pressure groups of the Great Lakes cities sought to stigmatize these measures by branding them with a "Sanitary District" or "Chicago" label.

Other cities down the Lakes-to-the-Gulf waterway were almost equally bitter in their attitude toward Chicago. This waterway was offensive to the people of the cities of Joliet, LaSalle, Peoria, and Beardstown, who had become conscious that the "floating islands" of refuse menaced their property and their health. As Representative Henry T. Rainey put it, "The Illinois River, with all of its romance and its beauty gone, has now become the greatest and most offensive open sewer to

be found anywhere on the face of the earth." These communities joined the lake states and cities in exerting the pressure that eventually forced Chicago to construct sewage treatment facilities. At the same time these downstream people desired to maintain a steady flow of water from Lake Michigan in order that the Lakes-to-the-Gulf waterway would be adequately supplied for commercial usefulness.

Other Great Lakes cities developed later than Chicago did. These cities, many of which have been so critical of the Chicago sewage system, were themselves in a much more favorable position for the adoption of the newer disposal devices which had not come into use until about 1900 when the population of Chicago was approaching the 2,000,000 mark. Chicago, forced to do something about the sewage disposal problem before 1900, had constructed the drainage canal at great expense, and perfected a system which was best able to serve its needs at the time. Naturally, efforts to force the discard of the system and the expenditure of millions of additional dollars in the construction of treatment plants resembling those of the other lake cities were resisted. But when legislative attempts failed, and when court decisions ended the diversion of water for sewage disposal purposes, Chicago went about the job of constructing these facilities. In 1941 this system was nearing completion, the result of the expenditure of over \$175,000,000 during the preceding decade.

INTERSTATE CONFLICT

Most of the litigation concerning the Lake Michigan water diversion controversy has been between states. For twenty years *Wisconsin et al. v. Illinois* has been a

familiar expression in federal court circles. Minnesota, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York have joined Wisconsin in a Great Lakes "alliance" against Illinois and the Chicago Sanitary District. At times, Illinois has had the support of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Kentucky, Mississippi, and Tennessee—which states were interested in the diversion question for navigation reasons. But the Supreme Court has brushed aside the pleas of these intervening states on the ground that they had no rightful interest in a case dealing with diversion of water for disposal of sewage.

The injuries alleged to have been suffered by the complainant states have been of many varieties. Injury to terminal equipment such as docks, piers, warehouses, and wharves has been attributed to the Chicago diversion. Much of this equipment is built upon submerged timber cribs filled with rock, and these cribs, when exposed, rot rapidly. Though the amount of such damage attributable to the Chicago diversion cannot be measured, it seems reasonable to believe that it has been considerable, even though the lowering of water levels has been only a few inches.

The complainant states have also claimed great injury to recreational equipment and interests. Bathing beaches, boat landings, harbors for pleasure craft, private resort properties, public parks, and marshy hunting areas have doubtless suffered some damage because of slightly lower levels, though, again, the amount is unmeasurable.

Injury to agriculture has been claimed because of a lowering of the water table in the land adjacent to the Great Lakes, thus subtracting moisture from the soil. Representatives of the complainant states have also

expounded fantastic theories that the Chicago diversion has drained the warm water off the top of Lake Michigan, causing cold water to run in from Lake Superior, resulting in earlier frosts and great injury to the Michigan peach crop. Needless to say, there was little scientific support for many of these claims which were nevertheless written into the records of the congressional hearings.

Further injury was alleged to have been suffered by fishing interests, municipal utilities, and to private industries using lake waters for cooling and condensation purposes. But the most appealing claim of the complainant states was based upon injury to navigation. It was quite easy for these states to prove that shallow harbors around the Great Lakes, made several inches shallower by the Chicago diversion, had reduced the cargo capacities of the larger lake boats which could barely enter such harbors or channels at Buffalo and Dunkirk, New York; Erie, Pennsylvania; and Muskegon, Michigan. It was this claim, more than any of the others, that caused the Supreme Court to grant the injunction against Illinois and the Sanitary District in 1929, and to bring the diversion for sanitation purposes to an end.

In the 1929 case the Supreme Court decided that the complainant states were entitled to have the diversion stopped, but referred the case to Special Master Charles Evans Hughes for further investigation to formulate a plan that would not work too great a hardship upon Chicago. In 1930 another decree fixed a gradual schedule of reductions from 8,500 c. f. s. to 1,500 c. f. s. by December 31, 1938. In 1933 the Court, in another decree, ordered Illinois and the Chicago Sanitary District to

proceed with greater speed in the construction of the treatment works in order that the decree of 1930 could be applied on schedule. In 1941 a plea from Illinois for a temporary modification of the decree of 1930, permitting a diversion of 5,000 c. f. s. until sewage treatment facilities could be completed in 1942, was denied. This latter plea had arisen because of the fact that the sludge from the treatment plants, still being dumped into the Lakes-to-the-Gulf waterway, and not as thoroughly diluted as before because of the reduced quantity of water, was creating "obnoxious, odorous, noisome, and unhealthful" conditions around Joliet.

Though Congress has never affirmatively authorized the diversion of water for navigation purposes in the Lakes-to-the-Gulf waterway, still the Land Grant Act made for the old Illinois and Michigan Canal, diversion permits issued to the Sanitary District by the Secretary of War, and a Rivers and Harbors Act of 1930 which nationalized the upper Illinois River portion of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf waterway, have seemed to imply congressional approval of the use of Lake Michigan water.

Former Representative Claude Parsons of Illinois, supported by navigation interests along the Lakes-to-the-Gulf waterway, sought to have Congress "authorize and direct" increase of the diversion to 5,000 c. f. s. in order to eliminate shallow sections in the channel during low-water seasons. The army engineers in the War Department, in charge of rivers and harbors surveys for Congress, have been inclined to accept the 1,500 c. f. s. limit set by the Supreme Court, and have recommended more locks and dams in the Lakes-to-the-Gulf channel below the shallow sections. The navigation interests claim that such locks and dams slow up navigation, add

to costs, and increase the silting up of the channel by slowing the current. Thus, the argument seems to narrow down to the issue of whether Lake Michigan water is more valuable to the nation when left to follow its natural course, or whether greater national interests can be served by withdrawing some of it for use in the channel of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf waterway.

Riparian law in the United States has been considerably enriched by the decisions of the Supreme Court in the case, *Wisconsin et al. v. Illinois*. The Court sanctioned the diversion of water from one watershed by permitting a diversion of 1,500 c.f.s. to maintain the navigability of the Chicago River, even though denying that Congress had ever sanctioned such a diversion. It has been definitely established that no city or state can divert large quantities of water from their natural course to the injury of lower riparian cities and states, at least for sewage disposal purposes. Yet the degree to which Congress may modify the common riparian law for navigation purposes is a matter of conjecture. One thing, however, seems certain, and that is that the Lake Michigan water diversion controversy has outgrown the boundaries of the states concerned with it, and must be dealt with by agencies and instrumentalities of the national government.

PRESSURE GROUPS AND THE DIVERSION CONFLICT

Networks of special interests seem inevitably to become affiliated with the water resources in industrialized areas. A number of these interests which have been deeply concerned with the Lake Michigan water diversion controversy have been suggested previously. Though they have been seeking local, non-national ob-

jectives, almost invariably they have sought to rationalize their programs in terms of the national interest. Special organizations and general promotional groups plead the cases of these interest groups. At every turn the diversion of water from Lake Michigan has been praised, blamed, viewed with alarm, opposed, sanctioned, blessed, deplored, condemned, approved, and criticized by an array of interest groups that have filled hundreds of columns of newspaper space, stacked congressional desks high with letters, telegrams, and petitions, and filled hundreds of pages of records of hearings of congressional committees and special masters.

The city councils of the interested cities have constituted one of the prominent groups. Chambers of commerce from all over the Great Lakes region have been equally active. State legislatures have been influential in memorializing Congress either for or against diversion legislation. Newspapers along the water routes involved have printed bitter editorials, pointed cartoons, and "impartial" analyses by staff writers. The Lake Carriers' Association, dominated by the steel industry, has fought for the transportation interests on the Great Lakes. The Mississippi Valley Association has battled for a commercially useful waterway for the Midwest, connecting the Great Lakes and the Gulf. The Great Lakes Harbors Association has fought to protect harbor depths around the Lakes. The Association of Drainage and Levee Districts of Illinois has fought the Chicago diversion in order to protect farm lands in the Illinois Valley from floods. The Illinois River Carriers' Association has asked for more water for navigation, chapters of the Izaak Walton League have insisted on having the channel of the Illinois River cleansed of sewage. The

Pennsylvania Board of Fish Commissioners has insisted that the diversion injures fish life in the Great Lakes. The Power Authority of the State of New York wants all of the outflow of the Great Lakes for power-production purposes at Niagara Falls. Other active groups have been the Propellor Club of Detroit, the Thousand Island State Park Commission, the Traffic Club of New Orleans, the Canal Carriers' Association of New York, the Niagara Frontier Planning Board, the Ohio River Company, and a number of port authorities.

Few questions in American politics have been subjected to the pressures of so many conflicting groups. It is indeed unfortunate that the important problem of Great Lakes water use, reaching deep into the social and economic life of the millions of people in this region, has been bandied about by a group of conflicting interests, no one of which has a genuinely sincere interest in the welfare of either the region or the nation as a whole.

THE PROBLEM OF JURISDICTION

Four principal agencies and instrumentalities of American government have, at some time, had jurisdiction over the Lake Michigan water diversion controversy. Originally the control over the diversion rested with the Illinois General Assembly which was using the police power of the state to protect the health of the people. But protests arose when the diversion reached an impressive figure. Congress, in 1899, passed an act which forbade "obstructions" in the navigable waters of the United States unless recommended by the Chief of Engineers of the Army and authorized by the Secretary of War. A Supreme Court decree in the case, *Sanitary District v. United States*, in 1925, upheld the validity of

the permits of the Secretary of War as opposed to the laws of Illinois respecting water diversion. Thus ended the right of single states to do as they pleased with the navigable waters of the nation.

The jurisdiction over the navigable capacity of the waters of the country is clearly with Congress if it chooses to exercise that control under its constitutional power to regulate commerce between the states and with foreign countries. Whether this power is sufficient to allow authorizations of diversions from the Great Lakes for the purposes of navigation on the Lakes-to-the-Gulf waterway, when such diversion would cause injury to riparian interests around the Lakes, is a question that has not been tested, though it would seem to be a clear question of policy, within the proper scope of congressional jurisdiction.

Congress, though subjected to heavy pressures concerning diversion legislation, has not acted. There has been no congressional authorization of diversion that can be called "affirmative," and the Supreme Court has insisted that an affirmative act would be required to constitute a taking of jurisdiction over the problem.

The reasons for the congressional inaction appear to be that the problem is regarded as sub-national in scope, better adapted to handling by judicial than by legislative procedure. Though the Supreme Court has left the door open for congressional action, Congress has not chosen to make use of it.

Congress did, however, empower the Secretary of War, as its agent, in 1899, to make recommendations and authorizations concerning the uses of the navigable waters of the United States. The power of the Secretary to issue permits concerning such waters was upheld in

the case, *Sanitary District v. United States*, in 1925. But in 1929 the Supreme Court held that the Secretary could issue no more permits for diversions for *sanitation* purposes; that this was beyond the scope of his authority. Congress has not conferred any additional authority upon the Secretary of War since 1929, though the Secretary and the army engineers have been called upon to conduct several investigations and make reports to Congress concerning the Chicago diversion. These reports have tended to follow the diversion limits set by the Supreme Court decree of 1930, and have recommended no diversion increases for navigation "for the time being."

The desirability of allowing the Secretary of War to exercise discretion concerning the regulation of the Chicago diversion has been much disputed. Great Lakes interests are opposed to any changes in the status quo, which leaves final authority in the Supreme Court, minimizing the authority of the Secretary of War. Some of those who have desired diversion increases, notably former Representative Parsons of Illinois, have advocated congressional action which would "authorize and direct" the Secretary to divert an annual average of 5,000 c.f.s. from Lake Michigan for navigation purposes, making the regulation a ministerial act. These efforts have failed.

The Supreme Court, thus, has been the dominant force in the regulation of the Lake Michigan diversion problem. In five different decrees the Court has settled jurisdictional controversies, applied equity procedure to the conflicting interests involved, regulated the diversion, and retained jurisdiction over future disputes concerning the problem. But these decrees have been con-

cerned with the diversion of water for sanitation purposes. The navigation aspects of the problem have been distinctly secondary, if not irrelevant to these decrees. Yet the diversion problem is now principally a navigation problem, and seems to belong to Congress rather than to the courts. Thus, a jurisdictional problem still remains to be solved.

The Lake Michigan water diversion problem is essentially regional in nature. It cannot be solved by states acting separately, for it reaches far beyond their individual borders. The vital nature of the problem, the number of states involved in it, and the changeability which characterizes it make interstate co-operation impossible as a solution. Congress, viewing the problem as sub-national in scope, and besieged by an array of pressure groups that seem to cancel each other in influence, has not formulated a policy in relation to the broad aspects of the problem. The War Department Engineers, dealing with phases of the problem in rivers and harbors surveys, have been trained in military tactics and technical problems of engineering, and are not competent to make plans for the broad economic and social consequences involved in water policy in this vast industrial region. The Supreme Court, upon which most of the responsibility for handling this dispute has rested, is not designed to initiate policies, can settle only specific fragments of the problem, one at a time, is not possessed of the type of expertness needed in handling such broad economic and social problems, and was never intended to function as a planning agency.

The evidence indicates that the various interests concerned with the use of the waters of the Great Lakes can be more adequately considered and reconciled, and

a co-ordinated plan for Great Lakes water policy can be facilitated, by a regional agency created by the national Congress, with power to investigate conditions, formulate policy, administer services, and adjudicate disputes. Such an agency should be composed of the highest type of public servants, with a maximum of emphasis upon economic and social intelligence and foresight, as well as legal and engineering expertness. It should be responsible to the President, but the final definition of water-use policy should be expressed by congressional legislation, under presidential leadership.

There is reason to believe that such an agency could plan and control the water resources of the Great Lakes and render them of maximum use to all of the special interests involved, to the Great Lakes region, and to the entire nation.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The history of the development of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, the growth of the water and sewage problems of the city of Chicago, and the construction of the Chicago Drainage Canal has been woven about a framework of public acts, resolutions, and memorials of the Illinois General Assembly, found chiefly in the *Laws of the General Assembly of the State of Illinois*.

Evidence of the nature of the conflict between Illinois and Chicago, and the other states, cities, and riparian interests around the Great Lakes may be found in newspaper editorial comments from the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, *Toronto Globe*, and the *Chicago Tribune*; in the *Peoria Journal*; in *Hearings* conducted by the Select Committee on the Nine-Foot Channel from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, 67 Cong., 4 Sess., Oct. 15-27, 1923, and by the same committee during the 68 Cong., 2 Sess., Jan. 13-25, 1925; in the *Hearings* conducted by the House Rivers and Harbors Committee on H. R. 5475, 68 Cong., 1 Sess., March 17 to May 27, 1924, and by the same committee on H. R. 8327, 75 Cong., 3 Sess., Jan. to April, 1938. The *Congressional Record* contains numerous debates concerning various water diversion legislative proposals. The Canadian attitude toward the Chicago diversion may be found in the *Debates* of the Canadian House of Commons and the Canadian Senate.

The official acts of the national government relative to the diversion controversy may be obtained from the *United States Statutes at Large*, which contain the various rivers and harbors enactments, the land grant acts of the nineteenth century, and the texts of the international treaties with Great Britain and Canada.

The record of the litigation concerning the diversion conflict is contained in the *United States Reports* (*Sanitary District v. United States*, and *Wisconsin et al. v. Illinois*), and in the *Reports* of the Special Masters to the Supreme Court in the cases, *Wisconsin et al. v. Illinois*.

Numerous pamphlets published by the Chicago Sanitary District, the Lake Carriers Association, the Mississippi Valley Association, and the Chicago Regional Port Commission contain material indicating the attitudes of these principal pressure groups in the diversion controversy.

HISTORICAL NOTE

VERMILION COUNTY IN ILLINOIS HISTORY

The recent organization of the Vermilion County Historical Society¹ calls attention to the rich background of history in which this area of Illinois abounds. The beginnings of the villages of that county and the lives of the early settlers provide many interesting incidents which constitute the various chapters of the Vermilion County story. A few of the episodes included in that history will be recalled in this article.

Since the members of the Century Club of Indianola had an important part in the formation of the new Vermilion County Historical Society, it is appropriate that that village should be mentioned first in this account. Indianola is one of the oldest towns in Vermilion County. It was first known as Chillicothe. The village plat was recorded on September 6, 1836, although there had been settlers within that area as early as 1822. When Chillicothe had achieved enough importance to demand a post office in 1844, it was learned that there was another town on the Illinois River north of Peoria by the same name. The name of the Vermilion County village was accordingly changed to Dallas City. Then trouble again beset the village, for it was discovered that there was a town on the far western edge of the state, on the Mississippi River, by the name of Dallas City. So the postmaster again requested the Post Office Department to change the name of the village and this time Indianola was the name suggested. At first the citizens objected, but they finally agreed and Indianola has become the permanent appellation. Indianola grew around the typical public square which is a prominent feature in the plats of numerous towns in Illinois and the Middle West. But its expansion was limited by the steady increase and importance of the nearby county seat town of Danville, which became a large industrial city and busy railroad center while Indianola remained a village.

¹ See *post*, 506-507.

Danville was first settled by Dan Beckwith in 1824. It was platted as a village and as the county seat of Vermilion County in 1826. Fifty-two lots had been sold at auction in the new town April 10, 1827. Beckwith built a store or trading post near the Salt Fork of the Vermilion River, as early as 1822, in what is now Ellsworth Park, in the western part of the present city of Danville. A post office and a mill were established there in 1828. Danville seemed destined to grow. By 1833 it contained eighty-one houses and cabins.

In 1826 Gurdon S. Hubbard established a trading post on the south side of the public square of Danville, on the site of the present Palmer-American National Bank. Hubbard, who changed the name of his trading post in 1832 to "a white goods store," was vitally interested, as were many pioneers, in the navigation of a stream which later proved to be unnavigable. Like Abraham Lincoln, who attempted to navigate the Sangamon in the vicinity north of Springfield, at "Old Sangamo Town" and New Salem, Hubbard believed that the placid Vermilion River on the south edge of the new village of Danville could surely be made navigable.

Accordingly, he loaded a flatboat with corn, pork and flour at Danville and sent it triumphantly down the Vermilion, Wabash, Ohio and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans. But the Vermilion River was too narrow, too prone to be affected by droughts in the heat of midsummer, too likely to be unduly swollen by sudden spring floods. Hubbard was forced to abandon his hopes and dreams, although the Vermilion River was declared navigable by the United States War Department and Danville was indeed designated as a "port of entry."

Farther down the Vermilion River, however, at the little Hoosier town of Eugene, where today a charming old covered bridge crosses the Big Vermilion River about twenty miles southeast of Danville, there flourished in the 1840's a pork-packing plant which did business on a large scale. Hogs were driven there on foot from several counties in Illinois, and after being killed, cured and salted, were loaded upon flatboats and sent down the Big Vermilion and larger rivers "plumb to New Orleans," as one old-time resident of Eugene expressed it. Eugene is not as large as it was in the 1840's and 1850's, but the beauty and charm of its century-old homes and its seventy-five year old covered bridge have fortunately been preserved.

In 1833 Gurdon Hubbard sold his Danville store and the pack of fifty horses which he used for bringing in furs and hides purchased from the pioneer whites and straggling Indians—some of whom lived in the Wabash River Valley until late in the 1840's—and placing his effects in four Conestoga wagons, drove across the wilderness prairie to a small settlement on Lake Michigan known as Chicago. At this time he cherished the hope of operating trading posts all the way from Vincennes, Indiana to Lake Michigan.

As early as 1821, Hubbard had lived on the present site of Watseka, fifty miles north of the site of Danville. In fact, he had been sent by the American Fur Company to trade with the Indians in Illinois in 1818—the same year that the state was admitted to the Union. Hubbard married an Indian lass by the name of "Watch-ee-kee"—whence the name of Watseka—but lived with her only two years and then presented her as a gift to a friend. The site of Hubbard's first cabin at what is now Watseka is marked by a boulder and tablet in the northwest part of that city—and well should he be recognized, for he was the first white settler within what is now Iroquois County. Certainly, no man knew eastern central Illinois and western central Indiana from Vincennes north to Chicago in the 1820's and 1830's as did Gurdon Hubbard. His name was appropriately given to an old-time trail between Danville and Chicago—Hubbard's Trail. That route is now more or less closely followed by the Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad, and in more recent years, by Illinois Route 1, known as the Dixie Highway. Surely Gurdon Hubbard knew how to map out roads which would be used by strands of rails and ribbons of concrete in carrying their full share of the commerce and travel of this mighty nation. Hubbard, like many other worthy pioneer adventurers, builded far beyond any vision of the future he may have glimpsed.

Another figure occupying a place of honor and affection among the citizens of old Danville is that of Ward Hill Lamon, a lawyer from Virginia who located in Danville in 1847. In 1848 he met a budding young attorney by the name of Abraham Lincoln from Sangamon County who was making his first trip as a circuit-riding lawyer to the Vermilion County Court. The two men were instantly attracted to each other. They formed a partnership—the firm name was Lincoln and Lamon—for the transaction of business in Ver-

million County. The office of this partnership was in the second story of an ancient building which then stood in the west half of the present site of the twelve-story First National Bank building of Danville, just west across the public square from the courthouse. This plaza is now known as Redden Square, named most appropriately in honor of Curtis ("Curt") Redden, a native son of Rossville, located in the northern part of Vermilion County. Redden was a successful attorney who became a colonel in the first World War and gave his life in that conflict.

Lamon removed to Bloomington in 1856 when he was elected prosecutor of the old Eighth Circuit. There he retained his friendship with Lincoln, as the latter was in Bloomington even more frequently than in Danville; yet his Danville visits from 1848 until 1857 averaged two a year, one during each of the semi-annual terms of the Vermilion County Court. Lincoln selected Lamon as marshal of the District of Columbia when he became President. Lamon accompanied Lincoln on the presidential special train which left Springfield on February 11, 1861, bearing Lincoln "to a task . . . greater than that which rested upon Washington." During the war years Lamon served Lincoln as personal bodyguard as well as anyone could, for Lincoln disliked being guarded. Lamon was dispatched from Washington on executive business during a week in mid-April, 1865. Lincoln was assassinated that week. Friends and admirers of Ward Hill Lamon affirmed vigorously that if Lamon had been retained at his post Lincoln would not have been assassinated—not then, at least, but we recognize the fact that there were divers plots to take the life of the Civil War President.

Several sites in Danville are precious to those who hold sacred the "Lincoln in Danville" episodes. There is the site of the old McCormick House, an old tavern where Lincoln, Judge David Davis and a number of circuit-riding lawyers stayed. This old inn stood on the present site of the Grier-Lincoln Hotel, one block west of Redden Square. Here Lincoln regaled his friends with stories in the evenings following court.

There is also the Dr. William Fithian mansion, on North Gilbert Street, from the second story balcony of which Lincoln addressed a crowd of admirers on September 21, 1858. This was during the turmoil of the famous series of debates with Stephen A. Douglas. Lin-

coln was escorted from the old Great Western—now the Wabash—Railroad station to the Fithian home by a Danville group of well-wishers. The balcony from which he spoke is still in place. A plaque and boulder mark the approximate site of this Lincoln speech.

It should also be mentioned that Vermilion County was the last county in Illinois and Danville the last town in this state upon which Lincoln's eyes rested when he departed for Washington on February 11, 1861. The special Great Western passenger train which had started that morning from Springfield, preceded by a pilot engine, arrived in Danville only eight minutes behind schedule, according to Clint Clay Tilton, Danville historian who has made a detailed study of the numerous Lincoln-in-Vermilion County episodes. The train did not stop in Danville, but slowed down. Lincoln, it is related, reached from the platform of the last car to shake hands with an old-time acquaintance. At State Line City, just across the highway from Illinois, the train stopped and the Lincoln party was entertained at dinner in the huge, three-story frame hotel which has since disappeared. The Great Western Railroad terminated at that point, the "Valley" Railroad began. The approximate site of that historic event is now marked at the northwest corner of the public square in the village of State Line City. One block from where the hotel stood, across the state line from Vermilion County, the eyes of Abraham Lincoln rested for the last time upon the Illinois he loved.

Without question, the tall, spare form of "Uncle Joe" Cannon, more properly Joseph Gurney Cannon—a resident of Danville from 1876 until his death in 1926—abides in the memory's lane of Vermilion County people more than any other one person. Uncle Joe served longer in the United States House of Representatives—in all forty-six years—than any other member of either House or Senate was ever privileged to sit. Even so-called veterans of the House or Senate, such as the late Senator William E. Borah, served "only" thirty-six years. Cannon was elected to the lower house of Congress in 1872 while a resident of Tuscola, county seat of Douglas County. He had served as state's attorney of Douglas and Coles counties during the Civil War period while he lived in Tuscola.

Uncle Joe's record of service in Congress extends from 1873 until 1923, an even half-century, with four years of "vacations," as he

quaintly and characteristically labeled his two defeats for terms in Congress. Uncle Joe lost the race for Congress in the fall of 1892, when Grover Cleveland was elected President for a second term, in a Democratic landslide. But he was returned in the election of 1894 and served until the 1912 election, when the split in the Republican Party resulted in another Democratic landslide.

But a mere breathing spell of two years did not discourage Cannon. In 1914, when he was seventy-eight years of age—at a time of life when most leaders have long since sought retirement—he was triumphantly re-elected to his old seat in the lower house of Congress and held it for eight years more. He finally retired, voluntarily, in 1923, when he was eighty-six years old. He frequently traveled to and from Washington alone even when he was far advanced in the eighties.

For twelve years Uncle Joe Cannon served as Speaker of the House of Representatives, his rule finally culminating in the so-called revolt of members of the House against "Cannonism" and "Czarism"—truly an interesting and dramatic episode in American history.

Cannon survived until the age of ninety and one-half years, his death occurring in his Danville home in 1926. He was unusually sturdy. Even at the last he was confined to his bed for only a fortnight. "Mr. Cannon is not a sick man," his physicians announced during this illness. "The body machinery is simply worn out."

The Cannon homestead, erected in 1876, on North Vermilion Street, Danville, is now the home of Mr. and Mrs. Russell Abdill, the latter a granddaughter of Cannon. Mrs. Abdill was born in this home and has lived here most of her life. Here were entertained many of the colorful leaders of Illinois politics—Governor Shelby M. Cullom, Governor John M. Palmer, Governor "Dick" Oglesby, Governor ("Private Joe") Fifer and many other men whose names are blazoned high in the picturesque history of our state.

The library and other downstairs rooms in this lovely old mansion are maintained just as Uncle Joe left them. On the walls are framed, autographed pictures of many bold American political leaders in the years when Uncle Joe was in the prime of life—William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, Mark Hanna, Elihu Root. Within the last year, Mrs. Abdill and her sister, Mrs. Virginia LeSeure Houghteling, as the only heirs of Joe Cannon, have presented his

papers to the Illinois State Historical Library—a valuable literary and historical estate.

Among other old-timers flitting in and out of the historical picture is Amos Williams, first postmaster of Danville. The first post office was opened in that village on May 3, 1827. John W. Vance, another worthy pioneer, advocated the division of Vermilion County, thereby forming a new county to the west. When this was done in 1833 the new county was named Champaign and the county seat was located at "Urbanna"—it is spelled with two n's in the Illinois *Laws* in contrast to the present form of "Urbana."

There was a large and goodly company of other pioneers in Vermilion County—James Butler, Noah Guymon, Marcus Snow, the Douglas family and the Thompson family. There were sturdy Quakers who settled at Georgetown, and to a lesser extent in Hoopeston, where the main residential street is even now called Penn Street.

The original Thompson, who settled south of the present-day Fithian, was a friend of Abraham Lincoln. The latter stopped at Thompson's farm while traveling between Urbana and Danville. One of the "Lincoln Traveled this Way while on the Eighth Judicial Circuit" markers stands at the entrance to the Thompson farm. John R. Thompson, founder of the famous system of "one-arm" restaurants, was born on this Vermilion County farm.

William J. Calhoun, later a prominent Chicago attorney and United States Minister to China, was a Danville lawyer in his early manhood. The bar of Vermilion County has always been especially strong. The roster of attorneys contains the names of many prominent families: Buckingham, Penwell, Bookwalter, Lindley, Jewell, Love, Allen.

Samuel W. Allerton, prominent Chicago business man and a former director of the First National Bank of Chicago, bought a large tract of land in the extreme southwest corner of Vermilion County and platted the town of Allerton, which was named in his honor. That tract is still known as "The Allerton Land." His son, Robert Allerton, well-known country squire, is the owner of "The Farms," a palatial estate near Monticello, Illinois.

There were many sturdy pioneers in Hoopeston, that little city which flourished almost overnight in the far northern edge of Ver-

milion County when the present Chicago and Eastern Illinois and Nickel Plate railroads were completed in the early 1870's. Thomas Hoopes, Thomas Williams, Alba Honeywell, Jacob S. McFerren, William Moore, Alfred H. Trego, S. S. McCall, James A. Cunningham, Alfred T. Catherwood and Dale Wallace are the names of only a few to whom we should pay tribute. McCall, McFerren, Moore, Trego and Catherwood were pioneers in the vast corn canning enterprise which centers at present in Hoopeston.

Mary Hartwell Catherwood, a Danville public school teacher in her youth and later a resident of Hoopeston, was a prominent author who worked as a literary pioneer in the romantic period of the French adventurers through the Great Lakes and down the Illinois and Mississippi rivers. Her books may not be considered great at present, but she aided in paving the way for many realistic books and stories based upon the lives of the *coureurs de bois* and *voyageurs* who were hardy enough to brave the vast, unbroken wilderness of the Great Lakes region and the Mississippi Valley. Her *Story of Tonti*, *Lazarre*, *The Romance of Dollard*, and *The Spirit of an Illinois Town* ring with the spirit of bold men and women who essayed lives of hardship in the heart of unexplored and undeveloped America so many years ago. By any standard of literary measurement of American historical fiction, Mary Hartwell Catherwood is to be remembered—and that most kindly and graciously.

Nor should the contemporary literary picture be ignored. Vermilion is the native locale of two eminent American men of letters, Carl Van Doren and his brother, Mark Van Doren. They were born at Hope, a hamlet on Illinois Route 49, five miles north of Ogden, near the western edge of Vermilion County. Carl Van Doren's superb *Benjamin Franklin* is a classic in the field of American biography. He spent twenty years in preparing this great work, then used only one-third of his material in a 900-page volume. His newest book, *The Secret History of the American Revolution*, was published on October 6, 1941. Van Doren worked for months preparing this book, in the University of Michigan Library where he studied the private papers of Henry Clinton, British general in the American struggle for independence. These papers were carried to England after the peace of 1783, where they were ignored for well over a century, but they have now been deposited at the University of Michigan.

Benjamin Franklin and the book upon the American Revolution are only two volumes in the long list of titles credited to Carl Van Doren—native son of Vermilion County, graduate of the University of Illinois. His father, Dr. Charles L. Van Doren, was a horse and buggy or horseback physician, bogging down through the mud roads of the Hope-Fithian-Armstrong-Potomac sector of Vermilion County. Carl Van Doren has been publishing books and scholarly magazine articles for thirty years. He has taught at Columbia University, New York City, has served as literary editor of *The Nation*, and as book-reviewer, book-critic and lecturer—a truly interesting and fascinating life.

His brother, Mark Van Doren, likewise a native of Vermilion County and also a graduate of the University of Illinois, is now an associate professor of English in Columbia University and has also served as literary editor of *The Nation* and in many other editorial and critical capacities. His *Shakespeare* of only two years ago is a finished study of the plays of the bard of Avon. He is also the author of two novels, *The Transients* and *Windless Cabins*, as well as the editor of a standard, authoritative *Anthology of English and American Poetry*, while his brother Carl is editor of the equally authoritative *Anthology of World Prose*.

Nor should we overlook two other contemporaries, also men of letters in their own right, each a native of Vermilion County, who are active in the county to this very day. We refer, first, to Larkin A. Tuggle, Vermilion County superintendent of schools and a native son of historic old Indianola itself. He has for years directed the public school pupils of his home and native county into a deeper and broader study of the backdrop of their truly picturesque county history.

There is also Clint Clay Tilton, native of the town of Catlin, another old-time village near Danville. The first county seat of Vermilion County, known as Butler's Point, was a half-mile southwest of Catlin. Butler's Point is a mere memory now. It was "hard by," as the pioneers would have expressed it, "God's Acre," that lonely, lovely cemetery now so tenderly preserved by the Vermilion County board of supervisors. The old Salt Works—now appropriately marked on United States Route 150—were north of Catlin. Joseph Barron visited these salines as early as 1819. Surely Clint Clay Tilton

selected a historic locale in which to greet this world. Small wonder that he is an able student of history today. He has a valuable treasure house of newspaper clippings. A retired editor, he has used his scissors for a lifetime. Editors are always accused of snipping out items and columns and pages, but no editor has clipped more consistently nor more carefully than Clint Clay Tilton of Danville. He has trunks and chests and boxes, without end, of clippings, programs, tidbits of old-time political campaigns and other stirring days in eastern Illinois and in the Wabash River country. What a volume could be compiled from this Pandora box of historical source material!

A sketch of this kind is so brief, so fragmentary, that it is only a reminder of the many interesting events in the early history of Vermilion County. But it will serve as a slight tribute to the people who have had a share in making Vermilion County what it is today.

C. C. BURFORD.

URBANA, ILL.

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

ILLINOIS FARM PRODUCTS A CENTURY AGO

The *cultivated vegetable productions in the field*, are maize or Indian corn, wheat, oats, barley, buckwheat, Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, turnips, rye for horse feed and distilleries, tobacco, cotton, hemp, flax, the castor bean, and every other production common to the middle states.

Maize is a staple production. No farmer can live without it, and hundreds raise little else. This is chiefly owing to the ease with which it is cultivated. Its average yield is fifty bushels to the acre. I have oftentimes seen it produce seventy-five bushels to the acre, and in a few instances, exceed one hundred.

Wheat yields a good and sure crop, especially in the counties bordering on the Illinois river. It weighs upwards of 60 pounds per bushel, and flour from this region has preference in the New Orleans market, and passes better inspection than the same article from Ohio or Kentucky. . . .

Oats have not been much raised till lately. They are very productive, often yielding from forty to fifty bushels on the acre, and usually sell from seventeen to twenty-five cents the bushel. The demand for the use of stage and travelers' horses is increasing.

Hemp is an indigenous plant in the southern part of this state, as it is in Missouri. It has not been extensively cultivated, but wherever tried, is found very productive, and of an excellent quality. It might be made a staple of the country.

Tobacco, though a filthy and noxious weed, which no human being ought ever to use, can be produced in any quantity, and of the first quality, in Illinois. "From the county of Wayne, a good many hogsheads have been annually exported for some years past; and the result of the experiment has been altogether satisfactory. It has been raised to some extent throughout the southern counties. A few hogsheads, which were sent from Randolph county to New Orleans, some years since, were pronounced by the inspector to be

the best ever brought to that market. We could not adduce a stronger proof than this in favor of our soil and climate. The tobacco plant, although coarse in its appearance, is one of the most delicate in the vegetable kingdom. It thrives only in a rich, light, and warm soil. It requires to be planted early in the spring, and it is gathered late in autumn. In every stage of its growth it needs culture, and attention, and is, at all times, sensitive to cold, and easily destroyed by frost. When we say, therefore, as we are authorised by repeated experiments, that ours is one of the best tobacco countries in the world, we produce the strongest evidence of the fertility of our soil, and the mildness of our climate."

Cotton, for many years, has been successfully cultivated in this state for domestic use, and some for exportation. Two or three spinning factories are in operation, and produce cotton yarn from the growth of the country with promising success. This branch of business admits of enlargement, and invites the attention of eastern manufacturers with small capital. Much of the cloth made in families who have emigrated from states south of the Ohio is from the cotton of the country.

Flax is produced, and of a tolerable quality, but not equal to that of the northern states. It is said to be productive and good in the northern counties. There is an oil mill to manufacture oil from the seed, in Sangamon county.

Barley is raised in St. Clair county for the St. Louis breweries. It yields well, is a sure crop, and sells in St. Louis from thirty seven and a half to fifty cents per bushel.

The *palma christi*, or castor oil bean, is produced in considerable quantities in Madison, Randolph, and other counties, and large quantities of oil are expressed and sent abroad. About twelve thousand gallons have been made in Edwardsville in a season. The bean is a more profitable crop to the farmer than corn, finds a ready market, and sells from seventy-five cents to one dollar per bushel.

Sweet Potatoes are a delicious root, and yield abundantly, especially on the American bottom, and rich sandy prairies.

J. M. PECK, *Gazetteer of Illinois* (1834), 29-33.

EARLY DAYS IN "THE YARDS"

Chicago is famous also for her application of steam-power in the conversion of pigs into pork. She has so many hundreds of thousands to slaughter every year that she has no time to kill and cure them in the old fashion. She requires capacious buildings, divided into different storeys and compartments, in each of which the hogs are passed through a different process. At any of these establishments you may see, almost incessantly at the busy season, a stream of pigs pouring in along a gangway, little imagining what awaits them. Every pig the instant it gets within the building receives a stunning blow; is clutched by the snout; stuck; run by machinery up to the top of the building; plunged into a long tank of hot water; shot from hand to hand and scraped; hooked up and run on by machinery, ripped down, cut into parts, dressed and salted, and all this with such rapidity that within twelve minutes from the time when it was an intelligent pig on the gangway, it is converted into pork, packed in barrels, and ready for shipment. They tell about an ingenious Yankee inventing a machine, which was warranted, when wound up and set in motion, to chase a pig over a ten-acre lot, chop him into sausages, work his bristles into shoe-brushes, and manufacture his tail into a cork-screw. *That* machine I am not prepared to vouch for; but the machinery in those pig-killing establishments in Chicago any one visiting the city at the killing season can see at work for himself. The number of pigs killed in some of them is almost fabulous. One of the two I saw kills 70,000 pigs per annum, besides myriads of sheep, which, during the busy season in autumn, are slaughtered at the rate of 2000 a day. In that single year there were killed and packed in Chicago 26,000 cattle and 670,000 hogs, reaching about four times the weight of her population. Cincinnati was long known as the Porkopolis, or head-centre of pig-killing in the West; but Chicago drew a-head about six years ago, and seems likely to distance all competitors.

DAVID MACRAE, *Americans at Home* (1870), II: 195-96.

OF PIONEER SPORTS

Our fathers indulged in many rude athletic sports, which have long since given place to the more refined amusements of our day. As long as a higher value was set on physical endowments than on

mental, these rude sports were continued. Prominent among them was horse-racing. This was carried on mostly in the west half of the county, and was often the scene of bloodshed and much confusion. Our people have not entirely outgrown it yet. From 1820 to 1830, and occasionally since, the barbarous practice of gander-pullings was carried on. It was regularly kept up at Josiah Dillard's and Solomon Snider's, at Christmas and at all large gatherings. The way they were conducted was shameful in the extreme. Plenty of whisky was first provided, then a pony-purse was made up, or a premium offered. A gander was next taken and his neck thoroughly soaped, when he was tied by the legs to a springing-pole, head downward, eight or nine feet from the ground; the riders then mounted and went at full speed; one man stood under the gander with a whip to keep the horses going. The first man who got hold of the gander generally turned the feathers the wrong way and made his neck sleeker than ever. The gander would flap his wings and squall for life, when an expert rider got hold of him, in such a manner as to make the blood grow cold. Sometimes a greedy fellow would hold on until his horse ran from under him, and then he would generally strike the ground with that portion of his body which, in a stooping posture, is the fairest mark for an assault. Running, jumping and wrestling were the common amusements at neighborhood gatherings, and the best wrestler and fastest runner were men of notoriety. Every boy had his bow and arrow, and spent a great part of his time in the woods. Skill in shooting with the bow was a great virtue. The hunters learned to imitate the cry of all kinds of animals, and the whistle of all kinds of birds. To bleat like a fawn, howl like a wolf, or gobble like a turkey, were accomplishments common among all. They had learned it from the Indians. Dancing was a favorite amusement with the people of the west side of the county. Those on the east side were not noted for sports of any kind, but were better hunters. At all weddings and house-raisings they had a dance, and people would come twenty-five miles to them. They knew nothing of the waltz, schottische or polka of our day; but the "Irish Trot," three and four-handed reels and jigs were tramped out to perfection. Cotton-pickings were common in an early day, and they were followed by a "play," where the boys would kiss the girls from "Julius Caesar" to the "Fourth of July." It was not dishonorable, because it brought no bashful blush

to trip down the girls' cheeks in stipple dots; but the sweet, love-pressed smile baptized her lips, and sent an electric radiation which caught up his heart and made it dance a polka in his mouth. Shooting-matches, the delight of our forefathers, have not been discontinued unto this day. Cards, dice, and other such gambling instruments, were wholly unknown among the early settlers; but from 1835 to 1870, were used by a large number of our people. Now there are but few gamblers in the county. Singings were of frequent occurrence until within a few years. Fox-chases, the pride of every sportsman, are still enjoyed in this county. General hunts, with fifty on a side were practiced twenty-five years ago. They would march through the woods to a common rendezvous, and have a barbecue.

MILO ERWIN, *Williamson County* (1876), 47-49.

GALENA IN ITS HEYDAY

Galena is by no means a pleasant town. There are some situations on the hills which environ it that would furnish delightful sites for residences, but at present these are chiefly unoccupied. The streets of this place are narrow, and after a rain unspeakably *muddy*. The houses are small, poor, and crowded. There is nothing interesting or attractive about the appearance of the town, except in a business point of view. Galena is the port where almost all the lead raised from the vast mines scattered through this region is brought to be shipped, and will therefore unquestionably be a place of great importance. Its moral character, I fear, is far from what we could wish it. Like many of these western towns, till recently, there has been scarcely the semblance of a Sabbath here. Drinking, duelling, and gambling, have all been common.—And yet there are many here that wish things were different, and are making some successful efforts to cause them to be so.

The Bishop of Illinois was here, and officiated the first Sunday I spent in Galena. He bore his testimony very faithfully, in rebuking the prevailing sins of the country, especially duelling, Sabbath-breaking, and profane swearing. I believe his counsel was very kindly received. There is a great deal of intelligence among the residents in this place, and they seem willing to have the truth preached to them plainly.

JOHN A. CLARK, *Gleanings by the Way* (1842), 109-10.

A POET'S DESCRIPTION OF THE ROCK RIVER

Rock River flows through high prairies, and not, like most streams of the West, through an alluvial country. The current is rapid, and the pellucid waters glide over a bottom of sand and pebbles. Its admirers declare that its shores unite the beauties of the Hudson and of the Connecticut. The banks on either side are high and bold; sometimes they are perpendicular precipices, the base of which stands in the running water; sometimes they are steep grassy or rocky bluffs, with a space of dry alluvial land between them and the stream; sometimes they rise by a gradual and easy ascent to the general level of the region, and sometimes this ascent is interrupted by a broad natural terrace. Majestic trees grow solitary or in clumps on the grassy acclivities, or scattered in natural parks along the lower lands upon the river, or in thick groves along the edge of the high country. Back of the bluffs, extends a fine agricultural region, rich prairies with an undulating surface, interspersed with groves. At the foot of the bluffs break forth copious springs of clear water, which hasten in little brooks to the river. In a drive which I took up the left bank of the river, I saw three of these in the space of as many miles. One of these is the spring which supplies the town of Dixon with water; the next is a beautiful fountain rushing out from the rocks in the midst of a clump of trees, as merrily and in as great a hurry as a boy let out of school; the third is so remarkable as to have received a name. It is a little rivulet issuing from a cavern six or seven feet high, and about twenty from the entrance to the further end, at the foot of a perpendicular precipice covered with forest-trees and fringed with bushes. . . .

I am told that the character of Rock River is, throughout its course, much as I have described it in the neighborhood of Dixon, that its banks are high and free from marshes, and its waters rapid and clear, from its source in Wisconsin to where it enters the Mississippi amidst rocky islands.

WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT, *Letters of a Traveller* (1850), 58-59.

TRANSMUTATION OF VALUES

The beginning of the Centennial year found a band of thieves and counterfeiters, numbering sixteen men,—the names of whom are all in the possession of the writer,—with their headquarters at the town bearing the name of our martyred President, Lincoln, the county seat of Logan county, Illinois. It is thirty miles north of Springfield, on the Chicago, Alton and St. Louis Railroad. One of this band has been heard to say, that when in the full tide of their operations, there was more counterfeit than genuine money in circulation in Logan county. Five of that band came to Springfield in March, 1876, rented a store room at the north side of Jefferson street, second door west of Fifth, opened a drinking saloon, and fitted up the room over it for dancing. One of the five was selected as the bartender and was the ostensible proprietor. The others were present by ones and twos, as hangers on. The object of keeping this establishment was that they might be enabled to ply their business of shoving counterfeit money, and use it as a rendezvous where they could, without arousing suspicion, lay their plans to steal the body of President Lincoln. They had frequent meetings, each and all visited the monument, mingled with other visitors, and one and another would ask such questions as would bring out all the facts about the different enclosures of the body, including the sarcophagus, as would be important for them to know. Early in June every detail was arranged, and the night of July 3, 1876, agreed upon as the time for putting their diabolical designs into execution. They were to open the marble sarcophagus, and take the body in the leaden and wood coffins, convey all to the Sangamon river about two miles north, and bury it in a gravel bar under a bridge, then disperse and wait for a reward, or an opportunity to negotiate for its return.

The time was chosen with demoniac shrewdness. The miscreants judged that, on the morning of July 4th, while the people in every part of our nation, with the most elaborate preparations, were in the very act of giving expression to a hundred years of self-sacrificing patriotism, in founding and perfecting a system of government under which all men are free, to have the news conveyed to them by lightning flashes, that the remains of the beloved central figure, in the crowning act, had been ignominiously torn from their resting place

in the stately Mausoleum erected for the purpose, by the people, would call forth fabulous sums of money, as free-will offerings, that they might be rescued from vandal hands.

But Satan sometimes furnishes the means to defeat his best laid schemes, and thus overleaps himself, and this was one of such occasions. . . .

When their preparations were all complete, there were two or three weeks' time to while away in idleness, while waiting for the night of July 3d. This was the most trying point. Until that time, all had gone along smoothly, for each and all had kept their secrets, and not a shadow of suspicion had been aroused. During this period of waiting, one of the five who came to Springfield in March and opened the saloon, a man of more intelligence than either of the other four, or all of them combined, but of exceedingly depraved morals, became elated as he mentally dwelt upon the prospect of the great wealth they expected to obtain as a reward for giving up the remains or revealing the place of their concealment, took on board an unusual quantity of whisky, went around among the women of the town, and confidentially told one of the keepers of a house of ill-repute that he was in a conspiracy to "steal old Lincoln's bones," and would by that means extort so much money from some source, of which he did not seem to have any definite idea, as a reward for giving up their secrets, that they would all be rich, and would expect her and her friends to help them spend the money.

It was through this channel that Chief of Police Wilkinson obtained the information he gave to the Custodian of the Monument, as already stated. The man who divulged the secret was the editor of a political paper at Lincoln. He left Springfield while he was yet intoxicated, but returning in a few days sober, found that the free use of his tongue when drunk, had defeated the whole scheme. The contents of the saloon were soon after loaded into wagons and driven away in the middle of the night, leaving a rent bill unpaid. Whisky alone is entitled to the credit of having thwarted this well-laid scheme to steal the remains of President Lincoln, but the fact that there was such a scheme did not at the time become generally known, and the half suppressed rumors of it gained but little credence with those who heard it.

JOHN C. POWER, *History of an Attempt
to Steal the Body of Lincoln*, 14-17.

NEWS AND COMMENT

The annual meeting of the American Historical Association is being held in Chicago on December 29-31. The effect of the present world crisis upon the study of history and the place of the United States in world affairs are among the subjects receiving special attention. Guest speakers include Major George Fielding Eliot, Stanley K. Hornbeck, Walter Millis, Carl Sandburg, Clifton M. Utley and Charles K. Webster.

Thirteen other societies meeting with the American Historical Association include the Agricultural History Society, American Association for State and Local History, American Catholic Historical Association, American Military Institute, American Society for Church History, Business Historical Society, Economic History Association, History of Science Society, Mediaeval Academy of America, Mississippi Valley Historical Association, National Council for the Social Studies, Society of American Archivists, and the Southern Historical Association.



In March, 1939, John Drury of the *Chicago Daily News* published in that newspaper the first of a series of articles on old Chicago houses. The series continued until February, 1941, by which time it had come to comprise seventy-nine articles. Believing that the author had made a contribution to Chicago history which deserved permanent preservation, the University of Chicago Press decided to reprint the series in book form. *Old Chicago Houses*,¹ the volume which resulted, was published in September, 1941.

In book form, Mr. Drury's sketches are grouped geographically and by subject. First, naturally, come the few surviving houses from pioneer days; then regional groupings like Prairie Avenue, the Near North Side, and Hyde Park; then Literary Landmarks; and finally, several structures of importance as forerunners of modern architectural trends. Each sketch is illustrated with a photograph of the house described.

¹ University of Chicago Press. \$4.00.

"I have used, in each instance," Mr. Drury writes in his preface, "a blend of historical, biographical, architectural, and social facts." It is this approach, with its provision of something for almost every taste, which makes *Old Chicago Houses* an appealing volume. The serious student will find in it many a footnote to history, both local and national; to the architect it should be almost a casebook of residential construction; and in it the merely curious will discover a great store of odd and interesting facts—as, for example, that the George F. Harding home on Lake Park Avenue is crammed with a collection of medieval armor and curios of all kinds, or that the imposing mansion at 1234 Lake Shore Drive was built by Robert Lincoln in 1893 and occupied by his family for fifteen years.

To residents of Chicago who have any interest in the city's past, *Old Chicago Houses* should be indispensable; and visitors to the city could do no better than to use it as a guide in those occasional odd hours between trains or appointments which are often so hard to fill.

A new series, "Old Illinois Houses," by John Drury is appearing currently in the *Chicago Daily News*.



When a biographer undertakes to write a study of a living subject he sets himself a difficult task. If his work is unduly laudatory, he is accused of currying favor; if he indulges too freely in criticism, his subjects' friends and admirers, and sometimes the subject himself, jump to the attack. His estimates, moreover, necessarily lack the steadying influence of perspective, and may rise to embarrass him after a consensus of opinion has formed.

All these dangers Karl Detzer appears to have avoided in *Carl Sandburg: A Study in Personality and Background*.² Here, in a short book, is a credible, even convincing, picture of the development of a great literary artist—author of virile, distinctive poetry; creator of the biography of Lincoln which has satisfied more readers than any other; collector and propagator of American folk songs. Detzer traces Sandburg's life from his childhood in the home of Swedish immigrants at Galesburg, through school and college, through his varied career in newspaper work, to his eventual attainment of

² Harcourt, Brace. \$2.00.

secure fame and position. The account carries no great weight of detail, but to one who knows at least something of the subject of the study, it seems to be always sound and sometimes illuminating.

Although he now lives in Michigan, Carl Sandburg will always be an Illinoisan. Mr. Detzer's book, therefore, will take its place—and an honorable one at that—in the historical literature of Illinois.



With the publication of *Lincoln: 1809-1839*, by Harry E. Pratt,³ the Abraham Lincoln Association has completed the recording of Lincoln's day-by-day activities from his birth until his first inauguration as President. (The period 1840-1861 is covered by three volumes compiled by Harry E. Pratt, Benjamin P. Thomas, and Paul M. Angle.)

Like the other volumes in the series, *Lincoln: 1809-1839* contains an introduction which covers in narrative form the years under treatment. Unlike the other volumes, however, it touches upon the activities of other members of the Lincoln family, Thomas Lincoln especially; and it does not follow the calendar arrangement typographically until the commencement of Lincoln's service in the Illinois legislature.

Taken together, the four day-by-day volumes constitute an indispensable Lincoln source. As reagents for testing traditions and suspected forgeries, they are indispensable; while cumulatively they furnish a picture of Lincoln's life impossible to present by customary biographical methods.



In the spring of 1941 David W. Hazen, of the Portland *Oregonian*, delivered four lectures on Abraham Lincoln at the University of Portland. The lectures are now available in book form under the title, *Mr. Lincoln*.⁴

The title lecture, "Mr. Lincoln," is a portrayal of Lincoln as a very human person; the nature of the other lectures is indicated by their subjects: "Lincoln and the Editors," "Lincoln and the War Governors," "Lincoln and Old Oregon." The essay on Lincoln

³ Abraham Lincoln Association, Springfield, Ill. \$3.75.

⁴ The author, Portland, Ore. Cloth, \$1.00; paper, 50 cents.

should be of especial interest to Illinoisans since it picks up the careers of several men after their departure from Illinois—notably A. G. Henry, Simeon Francis, E. D. Baker, and David Logan, the son of Lincoln's second law partner.



In his eighty-first year F. E. Coyne, collector of internal revenue at Chicago, 1897-1901, and postmaster of Chicago, 1901-1906, has written the story of his life under the title, *In Reminiscence*.⁵ Active in both business and politics throughout his long life, Mr. Coyne has known many men prominent in the city, state and nation, and he writes about them simply and engagingly. *In Reminiscence* is neither introspective nor pretentious, but by its human touches it helps to give reality to many men who are fast becoming only names in biographical compilations.



One of the outstanding events of every year in Illinois is the Illinois State Fair. First held in Springfield in 1853, the State Fair has grown until it has become one of the great expositions of the country. In spite of its importance, however, no historical account of the fair has been available until this year. Now an attractive, illustrated booklet, *Historical Souvenir, Illinois State Fair, 1853-1941*,⁶ supplies the deficiency. The product of careful research, the booklet is not only an accurate account of the exposition through the years, but also an interesting portrayal of many phases of social development in Illinois.



The latest and largest of the local guide books produced by The Writers' Program of the Works Progress Administration is the *Rockford Guide*.⁷ (Others: Cairo, Delavan, Hillsboro, Galena, Nauvoo.) It must also have been the hardest to write, for it is no easy task to relate the history of a city of 80,000, and describe it as it is today, within the limits of a good-sized booklet.

⁵ The author, 4436 N. Winchester Ave., Chicago. \$2.50.

⁶ Reuben L. Coon, Box 792, Springfield, Ill. 25 cents.

⁷ Graphic Arts Corporation, Rockford. \$1.00.

How well the workers of The Writers' Program have succeeded will be understood fully only by those who have tried to do something of the same kind. Any reader, however, will appreciate the readable narrative which provides just about everything that one needs to know about the city. In part, the story is typical of every sizable American city, for the beginnings and development of fire and police protection, street paving, street car service, railroads, telephones, automobiles and movies are not peculiar to Rockford. Other parts of the story, however, are characteristic of that city only—its industrial history, the large Swedish population, its transitory baseball fame, Camp Grant.

The growth of the city is one of the major phenomena of American history since 1800, but it is a theme which historians have neglected. For that reason, the *Rockford Guide* has much more than local interest. One will look a long time before he will find the history of American municipal development more clearly and more succinctly exemplified than in these 137 pages.



Another product of The Writers' Program is *A History of the First Presbyterian Church of Chicago*. Organized in the summer of 1833, when Chicago was an aggregation of cabins and small frame buildings grouped around Fort Dearborn, the First Presbyterian Church has had a continuous existence for over a hundred years. Here is its story, and that of the other churches which have merged with it, told with simplicity and brevity. The brochure contains the rosters of the church's elders, deacons, and trustees from the beginning, but no index.



What do you want to know about Illinois? The chances are that you will find the answer in a thirty-two page pamphlet entitled *Illinois*,⁸ which is a part of the American Recreation Series compiled by the W. P. A. Writers' Project. The booklet contains the most important factual information about the State of Illinois, general tourist information, descriptions of each state park, and ten tours

⁸ Bacon & Wicck, Inc., Northport, Long Island, N. Y. 15 cents.

through the outstanding regions of scenic and historical interest. There are a number of errors which should be corrected in future editions, but they do not materially affect the pamphlet's value.



Latest of the inventories of county records being compiled and published by the Illinois Historical Records Survey is *No. 82, Saline County*.⁹ Like other volumes in the series, this contains an historical sketch of the county, a description of its governmental organization, and detailed lists of available county records. Most of the county inventories which have appeared so far have been mimeographed; the Saline County volume, however, is printed.



What Should Our Historical Society Do? is the title of the first Bulletin issued by the recently organized American Association for State and Local History. The question is one which perplexes the officers of almost every local historical society. In answering it in this pamphlet, Edward P. Alexander, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, not only recommends a wide variety of activities—meetings of various kinds, historical tours, publication programs, museum and library undertakings—but also furnishes detailed instructions and suggests further sources of suggestions. No local society should be without this booklet, which can be obtained, at small cost, from the Secretary of the Association, Box 6101, Washington, D. C.



Miss Esther U. McNitt, chief of the Indiana history division of the Indiana State Library for the last twenty-five years, died at Logansport, Indiana, on October 1. A fine scholar ever willing to place her full knowledge at the disposal of students, Miss McNitt occupied a position which will be most difficult to fill.



On August 3, 1941, a bronze plaque dedicated to the memory of John D. McAdams was unveiled at Hop Hollow, near Alton. Long

⁹ Historical Records Survey, 433 E. Erie St., Chicago. Apply.

a leading citizen of Alton, Mr. McAdams was largely instrumental in the building of the McAdams Parkway along the Mississippi, and was one of those whose constant urging resulted in the creation of Pere Marquette State Park.



The ninety-fifth anniversary of the founding of Bishop Hill was commemorated on September 23. This Christian communistic colony, founded by Eric Janson and a group of Swedish followers in 1846, at one time had 1,100 inhabitants. The village now numbers only 199. The Steeple Building, with its clock tower, and the Colony Church are the best known of the buildings which give Bishop Hill more flavor of the past than any other Illinois community.



The officers and members of the Boone County Historical Society recently paid tribute to the memory of Mrs. George H. Covey. She was vice-president of the Boone County centennial in 1935 and was actively engaged in the work of preserving historical records of the community in which she lived.



The historical exhibits in the museum of the Bureau County Historical Society at Princeton have recently been numbered and catalogued. A committee of the Society consisting of Miss Grace Bryant, Mrs. Richard Ferris and Mrs. H. H. McKee, assisted by Mrs. Mae Switzer as typist, has been responsible for this work.

The board of directors of the Bureau County organization recently decided to assume full responsibility for hiring a curator for the museum since part-time help from W.P.A. and N.Y.A. is now difficult to obtain. The museum is open several afternoons each week.



A monument was erected last fall near Sparta, on State Route 43 as a tribute to the outstanding promoters of the Old Burlington Highway. Names of the men who backed the construction of this

highway as well as the first state bond issue campaign, appear on the monument. The Burlington Route, which extended from Burlington, Iowa to New Orleans, was marked for almost its entire length about thirty years before the first Illinois hard road bond issue was passed.



The life of Abraham Lincoln, so frequently told in books, plays and poems, is now portrayed for the first time through the medium of the diorama. On November 16 a series of twenty dioramas was opened at the Chicago Historical Society. A tea and reception given by President and Mrs. Joseph M. Cudahy followed the formal opening. An exhibit of costumes of the Lincoln period was on display for this occasion.

The following subjects are covered by the Lincoln dioramas: Hodgenville cabin, Lincoln's boyhood, migration to Illinois, Lincoln the storekeeper, scene on the Ohio River, riding the circuit, Tremont House, debate at Freeport, nomination for president, Springfield rally, leaving Springfield, first inaugural, Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln at Antietam, Gettysburg address, Lincoln and Grant meeting, Lincoln enters Richmond, the pardon, Ford's Theatre, and Lincoln Memorial. These subjects were selected by the Chicago Historical Society in co-operation with Louis E. Warren, Fort Wayne, Indiana, Harry E. Pratt and Paul M. Angle, both of Springfield. More than fifty craftsmen, working under the Museum Extension Program of Illinois, were employed in the construction and research work. The entire project was supervised by the Chicago Historical Society.



The eighth annual old settlers' meeting of the Lawndale-Crawford Historical Association (Chicago) was held on September 25. A grand march and the singing of old songs were a part of the program. Pictures and other mementos of early days in the community were on display on this occasion.



Each year the South Shore Historical Society (Chicago) selects one of its members who has rendered outstanding service to the

community and dedicates a meeting to that person. Dr. Nixon Davis, prominent professional man and civic leader since the turn of the century, was thus honored by the Society on October 16. One hundred and seventy-five persons were in attendance. An orchid was presented to Mrs. Flora B. Bendell, who has resided in the community for sixty years and a boutonniere to Thomas Tobin who has lived in the district for sixty-eight years. Music was furnished by Sam and A. B. Creswell and community singing was led by John P. Quigley.

George Stanton, newly elected president, presided at this meeting. Other officers recently named are: Mrs. Mary Taylor Sawyer, vice-president; Ethel P. Hanson, recording secretary; Miss Helen S. Babcock, corresponding secretary; Harry Kriewitz, treasurer; and David Bird, Sr., genealogist. Trustees are: Arthur J. Barnsback, Adah Rohn Callahan, Charles Gunnarson, Frank Mayo and Charles Parsons. Committee chairmen include: Mrs. Florence McKenzie Alexander, historian; Fred Acker, membership; Mrs. Mary Taylor Sawyer, program; and Mrs. Viola Hartman Murphy, social.



The West Side Historical Society (Chicago) observed its twelfth anniversary at the early settlers' meeting held on October 20. The first part of the program consisted of reminiscences, with Dr. S. S. Fuller, Larned Meacham, Miss Marguerite O'Brien and James Walters as the principal speakers. Harlow R. Grant presided during this hour. The second half of the program, presided over by George P. Madigan, consisted of a speech on "Neighborhood History" by John Drury, author of *Old Chicago Houses* and several other books. At the close of the meeting the 1941 award for the prize-winning essay was made to the Local History Club of Steinmetz High School by Otto Eisenschiml.

The annual exhibit of West Side historical material was held at the Legler Regional Branch Library from October 20 to November 1. A number of new photographs, manuscripts, etc. have recently been added to the collection.



"The Music of the Church Choir" was the subject of the autumn meeting of the Historical Society of Woodlawn (Chicago). The fol-

lowing churches took part in the program: St. Clara Catholic, Holy Cross Catholic, First Presbyterian, Woodlawn United Presbyterian, Woodlawn Baptist, Woodlawn Emmanuel Lutheran, Christ Episcopal, St. Paul's Universalist and Woodlawn Methodist. Musical histories of the various churches were given by Mrs. Harold Maryott, Mrs. H. H. Bey, David Matchett, Jr., Mrs. Jewell Lovejoy and Mrs. C. E. Paulus. Music consisted of selections by the Men's Singing Chorus of the Woodlawn Methodist Church, a duet by Mrs. David Matchett, Jr., and Clyde Coppes, and a piano solo by Mrs. William E. Truce. Dr. H. I. Van Tuyl presided, Mrs. E. J. Chladek planned the program and Miss Josephine Perry was in charge of the social hour which followed.



The Emmerson residence in Albion, birthplace of the late Governor Louis L. Emmerson, is now the home of the Edwards County Historical Society. Pictures, manuscripts and other articles of historical interest owned by the Society were moved to the home in September and will eventually form the nucleus of a museum.

The Edwards County Historical Society observed its second anniversary in August and the following officers were elected: W. A. Wheeler, president; Fred Stroup, vice-president; Mrs. Grace Terry, secretary; Harry Glover, treasurer; Mrs. Carro Craig Long, corresponding secretary. The following persons will serve as trustees: for one year, John Gooch; two years, W. H. Siefferman; three years, W. A. Wheeler. The Society meets on the first Monday nights in each month.



I. L. Gamber was elected president of the Galena Historical and Museum Association on July 28. John Henry Grimm was named a member of the executive committee. The remaining officers and members of the executive committee were re-elected for the coming year.



Members of the Kiwanis Club of Kankakee visited the museum of the Kankakee County Historical Society on October 20. Preceding their visit a luncheon was served by members of the Women's

Relief Corps. Three Kiwanians interested in the museum—Vernon McBroom, the Reverend Morgan Williams and Monroe Curtis—arranged this visit as a step toward the revival of interest in the collection.



Some twenty-five years ago there was a Knox County Historical Society but it has not been functioning for some years. With the purpose of forming a new organization which would stimulate an interest in the past and current history of Knox County, a group of people met in Galesburg on September 24 to discuss plans. Dr. J. L. Conger, head of the Department of History at Knox College, acted as chairman. Paul M. Angle, secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, pointed out the advantages to be derived from membership in such an organization. A committee consisting of Dr. Hermann Muelder, Jean Humphreys and Mrs. Ann Elphick was appointed to make preliminary plans. It was decided to hold further meetings which would be open to the public.



Sketches of pioneer families in Macon County have been given at recent meetings of the Macon County Historical Society. At the September meeting the histories of the Bear, Cross and Betzer families were read. Frank E. Sawyer, president, presided at this meeting.



The historic old home of Mrs. Elizabeth Covell Holland in Hillside was the meeting place of the Maywood Historical Society on September 28. This home was formerly the home of Thomas Reed Covell, one of the early settlers of Proviso Township. Mrs. Susan M. Hough, vice-president, read a paper on the "History of the Covell Family" which had been prepared by Mrs. Eda Kendall Westcott, Mrs. Marguerite Nichols Edlund and Mrs. Grace Nichols. Forty members of the Society were present.



The September meeting of the Morgan County Historical Society was held in Chandlerville on September 25 at 5:30 in the after-

noon. About one hundred members and guests were present. The group met in the cemetery around the cenotaph for Dr. Carl Beane Chandler, grandson of the founder of Chandlerville. Here Paul M. Angle, Springfield, addressed the audience, speaking on that part of the history of Illinois which is associated with the Sangamon River Valley. Following this address, the company met at the Congregational Church, which is built on the site of the first residence of Dr. Charles Chandler. After a dinner served by the women of the church, a fifteen minute musical program was given by Miss Ruth Leeper, Miss Clyde Carr and Miss Mae Ainsworth. Selections from old Chandlerville days were played. The principal speech on the evening program was made by Mrs. Josephine Craven Chandler Horner, talking on "The Romance of the Sangamon." Dr. Carl E. Black, president of the Morgan County group, presided.



"Growing up as a Boy in Oak Park" was the subject discussed by Harry B. Noyes at the October meeting of the Oak Park Historical Society. Mr. Noyes came to Oak Park in 1874. Thomas Doane, president of the Society, was in charge of the meeting.



The Peoria Historical Society has had a series of monthly meetings at which "accounts of the lives and works of persons in the past of Peoria and of the Illinois River Valley" were reviewed by various speakers. In October, C. C. Burford, Urbana, spoke on "The Colorful Story of the Illinois River." At the November meeting there were two speakers: Harry L. Spooner, Peoria, discussed "Peoria Post Offices from First to Present" and Joseph E. Fortune, Peoria, spoke on "The Development of Land Titles in Peoria."

The Society is not holding a meeting in December but activities will be resumed in January. New officers were installed at the October meeting. They include: Harry L. Spooner, president; Howard A. Hunter, vice-president; A. R. Buis, secretary; and Emma L. Shriver, treasurer.

Peoria as it was from the "Gay Nineties" to the "Roaring Twenties" was depicted in the street parade which was held as a prelude to the observance of the seventy-fourth anniversary of the Peoria Old Settlers' and Historical Association on August 27. At the conclusion of the parade the annual reunion and picnic was held at Glen Oak Park. An address by John Stelle, former governor of Illinois, was the main feature of the program. Short speeches were also made by George T. Page, George Alfs, Al Gury, Jr., William Livingston and N. Curtis Cation. The Peoria Municipal Band gave a concert during the afternoon.

Officers named at the business meeting include: George T. Page, president; George Alfs, first vice-president; Stephen H. Tripp, second vice-president; Mrs. Josephine Thurlow, recording secretary; William E. Stone, treasurer; and Eugene Brown, chairman of the board of directors.



Eighty-five people attended the dinner meeting of the Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County on October 15, at which Paul M. Angle, Springfield, was the guest speaker. His subject was "It Happened in Illinois." The meeting was held at the Society's building in Quincy. Mrs. J. W. Emery, president, presided, and William H. Sinnock, vice-president, introduced the speaker.



Richland County and its county seat, Olney, celebrated their joint centennial anniversaries on August 4-7. Historical exhibits, band concerts, parades and numerous contests were included on the program of events. A pioneer court was held each morning of the celebration and a historical pageant each evening. A pioneer ball and a queen's ball were also part of the entertainment. Miss Tressie Michels was centennial queen.

Charles M. Van Cleve was president of the Centennial Association. Each phase of the celebration was in charge of special committees with the following persons acting as chairmen: Jerome Scherer and Frank Newton, pioneer parade; Leslie Jones, float parade; Bert Michels, rural participation; John Ed. Fessel, properties; Frank B. Godeke, exhibits; Mrs. Robert Murray and Mrs. John

Ed. Fessel, dances; the Rev. N. J. Dechant, churches; Mrs. Jerry Robertson, music; Vincent Van Cleve, publicity; Donovan D. McCarty, amusements; Robert E. Murray, decorations; C. E. Reed, concessions; Mrs. Lamont R. Forsyth and Mrs. P. E. Sutton, queen contest; Mrs. Leila Jones, talent; Vincent Van Cleve and Fred Newton, Jr., whisker growing contest; and Carlos Taylor, wooden nickels.



To commemorate the joint centennials of Richland County and Olney, the *Olney Daily Mail* published a centennial edition on August 4. This issue, consisting of four sections of eight pages each, is a valuable source of information on the history of the county and city. It includes a detailed history of Richland County written by Charles M. Van Cleve, instructor in Olney High School. This article, which also contains separate accounts of the different townships and villages as well as railroads, schools, churches, industries, public buildings, clubs, etc., occupies the main part of Sections Two, Three and Four. Another feature of special interest to historians is the list of county officers for the hundred-year period, 1841-1941, printed in Section Four. Names of present-day township officers are also included. Stories on the oil boom of recent years and other important phases of Richland County's history are among the various subjects covered in this edition.

Anyone interested in the history of Olney and Richland County would do well to secure a copy of this paper, for in it are assembled many facts which it would be impossible to find in any other one source.



The Riverside Historical Society opened the fall season with a meeting on October 31. Joseph Harrington spoke on "The History of the Riverside Water Works" and Louis L. Dent discussed "The History of the Riverside Parks."



The seventy-fifth annual reunion of the Rock Island County Pioneers' and Old Settlers' Association was held on October 9.

Charles H. Quick, Cordova, newly elected president, was presented with the gold-headed cane which symbolizes that office. Made from wood used in the first house ever built in Rock Island, the cane is inscribed with the names of the seventy-five persons who have served as president of the organization. Mrs. John H. Hauberg recently donated a diamond to be set in the cane as a mark of the Association's diamond anniversary. Other officers elected at the October meeting include: William Stewart, Rock Island, first vice-president; the Reverend S. W. Woodburn, Rock Island, second vice-president; Charles E. Sikes, Hampton, third vice-president; J. S. Pence, East Moline, fourth vice-president; Mrs. Grace Sweeney, Rock Island, secretary-treasurer. The executive committee includes: John H. Hauberg, Rock Island; S. P. Albrecht, Moline; Wilson P. Hunt, Moline; E. H. McMurphy, Hillsdale; and Frank L. Wake, Zuma Township.



The establishment of a Swedish-American museum in Rockford is under consideration by members of the Swedish Historical Society of that city. A number of book collections of pioneer Swedish families in the community have already been received. The following persons have been named to a committee to study the advisability of establishing such a museum: Nils F. Testor, Gedor W. Aldeen, Hugo L. Olson, John A. Aldeen, G. Amos Stockhus, J. Herman Hallstrom, George Perry, Albert N. Nelson, Lawrence D. Larson, Oscar M. Lindgren, Fred E. Rundquist, C. Henry Bloom, Harry O. Swanson, Alf O. Ahlstrand, A. J. Anderson and Swan Hillman.

The Society had a banquet in Rockford on November 6. Gosta Oldenburg, Swedish consul of Chicago, was the guest speaker. The various committees connected with the banquet arrangements had the following chairmen: program, Albert N. Nelson; menu, Mrs. Ernest Nyberg; decorations, Hilmer Borggren.

Semi-weekly broadcasts over station WROK are being sponsored by the Swedish Historical Society each Monday and Thursday at 8:00 P.M. A number of talks on the history of Sweden have been made recently.

Members of the recently organized St. Charles Historical Society are holding meetings every month. At the October gathering Miss Helen Munhall read a paper based on the reminiscences of F. M. Underwood, charter member of the Society, who was born in St. Charles in 1860. Miss Alice Davis was the speaker at the November meeting. Incorporation papers have been received by the Society. Charter memberships in the St. Charles Historical Society, \$1.00 each, are still available.



The St. Charles Festival of the Green Corn was held in that city on August 29-September 1. This event has been observed in St. Charles for the past thirty-seven years. It originated with the Potawatomi Indians who celebrated the ripening of the corn annually with a tribute to the god of the harvest.

The festival opened with an Indian pageant presented by a group of Winnebagoes. A fishing contest, a regatta and several athletic contests were included in the program of events. Members of the Chamber of Commerce and others wore costumes of Indians and pioneers during the festival. The following committee was in charge: Harold Hough, general chairman; George Simon, co-chairman; Dr. C. E. Anderson, A. C. Schneider, R. F. Munn, George E. Thompson and Dr. I. G. Langum.



The Southern Illinois Historical Society held its annual fall dinner meeting at the First Presbyterian Church in Harrisburg on October 23. Seventy-eight people from fifteen different southern Illinois towns were in attendance. Two papers were presented. Jacob W. Myers, Harrisburg attorney, spoke on "The Historical Background of Saline County," while Dr. C. H. Cramer of Carbonale discussed "The Progressive Paradise." Special music was presented by talent from Harrisburg.

The Society made plans to hold another historical pilgrimage next June or July. This field trip will be sponsored jointly by the Society and by the Department of History at the Southern Illinois Normal University.

The annual meeting of the Stark County Historical Society was held on September 15 in Toulon. All officers were re-elected. They include the following: H. W. Walker, president; W. C. Auble, vice-president; Miss Annie Lowman, secretary; Miss Clare McKenzie, treasurer. Directors elected for three-year terms are H. W. Walker, Miss Lucille McKee and James M. Armstrong. Hold-over directors are W. C. Auble, Arthur Shinn, Miss Annie Lowman, Mrs. Ben Younger, Dr. W. F. Jones and John V. Colwell. Mrs. Florence Kinney was re-elected custodian.



Plans for the reorganization of the Stephenson County Historical Society are being discussed in Freeport with members of the Lions Club acting as leaders. According to the will of the late Mrs. Frank Bass, \$5,000 was provided for the use of the Society in establishing a permanent home. The raising of \$1,000—which is a prerequisite for receipt of the bequest—has been undertaken by the Lions Club. An organization meeting, to which the public will be invited, is planned for early winter.



Few local historical societies have been launched with such large and enthusiastic crowds as that which attended the organization dinner of the Vermilion County Historical Society on October 1. More than two hundred persons who are interested in giving Vermilion County history its proper recognition were present at this affair, which was held in Danville under the sponsorship of the Century Club of Indianola.

Walter C. Lindley, judge of the United States District Court, Danville, was the principal speaker. C. E. Vance, Danville superintendent of schools, was master of ceremonies. Others having a part in the program were: the Reverend John W. R. Sumwalt, Danville, invocation; John Franklin Baldwin, Indianola, guitar solos; Mr. and Mrs. Wilson Richie, Georgetown, vocal duets; and Miss Helen Repasy, Danville, vocal solos, accompanied by Otis Gruber, Danville; introduction of the following distinguished guests: Mrs. Buena Baldwin, Indianola, president of the Century Club; Mrs.

Florence Swank, Indianola, founder of the Century Club; Clint Clay Tilton, Danville, past president of the Illinois State Historical Society; Miss Ethel Smith, Indianola, member of the Illinois State Historical Society; Larkin A. Tuggle, Danville, county superintendent of schools; and Charles M. Crayton, Danville, soldier, journalist and lawyer. Others introduced included Jack Williams, George Rearick, E. C. Hewes, and Mr. and Mrs. Henry Libby, all of Danville; Professor and Mrs. John B. Crane, Evanston; and C. C. Burford, Urbana.

Officers elected to guide the new Society include the following: Oliver D. Mann, Danville, president; Mrs. Florence Swank, Indianola, first vice-president; Jack M. Williams, Danville, second vice-president; Madeline Dague, Danville, secretary; and Herman Douglas, Danville, treasurer.



The Chicago Fire of 1871 was the subject of the October meeting of the Winnetka Historical Society, with Mrs. Benjamin F. Langworthy in charge of the program. Major Harry A. Musham, naval architect of Chicago, was the principal speaker. His father was foreman of one of the engine companies which fought the great fire. The subject is of special interest to Winnetka citizens because it was soon after its occurrence that the first great influx of residents to this village took place.



Levi J. Freese, president of the Woodford County Historical Society for more than twenty-five years, died in Eureka on May 24. Through his leadership many historical documents and relics were assembled by the Woodford County organization and placed in the museum of the Lincoln Memorial Courthouse at Metamora. He was also instrumental in the marking of various historical places and trails in Woodford County. The directors of the Woodford County Centennial (July 30-August 1) paid tribute to Mr. Freese by dedicating the centennial program to his memory.

CONTRIBUTORS

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